WHITE SLAVERY

IN

THE BARBARY STATES.

A

LECTURE

BEFORE THE

BOSTON MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,

FEB. 17, 1847.

BY CHARLES SUMNER.

—— Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur.

HORACE.

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LECTURE.

History has been sometimes called a gallery, where are preserved, in living forms, the scenes, the incidents, and the characters of the past. It may also be called the world's great charnel-house, where are gathered coffins, dead men's bones, and all the uncleanness of the years that have fled. As we walk among its pictures, radiant with the inspiration of virtue and of freedom, we confess a new impulse to beneficent exertion. As we grope amidst the unsightly shapes that have been left without an epitaph, we may at least derive a fresh aversion to all their living representatives.

In this mighty gallery are the stately images of the benefactors of mankind, — the poets who have sung the praises of virtue, the historians who have recorded its achievements, and the good men of all time, who, by word or deed, have striven for the welfare of others. Here are depicted those scenes in which the divinity of man has been made manifest in trial and danger. Here also are those grand incidents which have attended the establishment of the free institutions of the world, — the signing of Magna Charta, with its priceless privileges of freedom, by a reluctant monarch, and of the Declaration of Independence, the annunciation of the inalienable rights of man, by the fathers of our republic.

On the other hand, in this dreary charnel-house are tumbled in ignominious confusion all that now remains of the tyrants, the persecutors, and selfish men, under whom mankind have groaned. Here also are the extinct institutions or customs, which the earth, weary of their infamy and injustice, has refused to sustain, — the Helotism of Sparta, the Serfdom of Christian Europe, and Algerine Slavery.

From this charnel-house let me draw forth one of these to-night. It may not be without profit to dwell on the *origin*, the *history*, and the *character* of a custom, which, after being for a long time a by-word and a hissing among the nations, has at last been driven from the world. Perhaps the easy condemnation which it cannot fail to receive at our hands may direct our judgment of other institutions, still tolerated in defiance of justice and humanity. I propose to consider the subject of *White Slavery in Algiers*, or perhaps it might be more appropriately called, *White Slavery in the Barbary States*. As Algiers was its chief seat, it seems to have acquired a current name from that place. This I shall not disturb ; though I shall speak of white slavery, or the slavery of Christians, throughout the Barbary States.

If this subject should fail in interest, it cannot in novelty. I am not aware that any person has ever before attempted to combine in a connected essay the scattered materials with regard to it.

The territory now known under the name of the Barbary States is memorable in history. Classical inscriptions, broken arches, and ancient tombs — the memorials of various ages — still continue to bear most interesting witness to the revolutions which it has encountered.* Early Greek legend made it the home of terror and of happiness. Here was the retreat of the Gorgon, with snaky tresses, turning all she looked upon into stone ; and here also the garden of the Hesperides, with its apples of gold. It was the scene of adventure and mythology. Here Hercules wrestled with Antæus, and Atlas sustained with weary shoulders the overarching sky. Phœnician fugitives transported to its coasts the spirit of commerce, and Carthage, which these wanderers first planted, became the mistress of the seas, the explorer of distant regions, the rival and the victim of Rome. The energy and subtlety of Jugurtha here baffled for a while the Roman power, till at last the whole country from Egypt to the Pillars of Hercules underwent the process of annexation to the cormorant republic of ancient times. Its thriving population and its fertile soil rendered it an immense granary. It was filled with famous cities, one of which was the refuge and grave of Cato, flee-

* The classical student will be gratified and surprised by the remains of antiquity which are described by Dr. Shaw, English chaplain at Algiers in the reign of George the First, in his *Travels and Observations relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*, published in 1738.

ing from the usurpations of Cæsar. At a later day Christianity was here preached by some of her most saintly bishops. The torrent of the Vandals, which had wasted Italy, passed over this territory, and the arms of Belisarius here obtained some of their most signal triumphs. The Saracens, with the Koran and the sword, potent ministers of conversion, next broke from Arabia, as the messengers of a new religion, and, pouring along these shores, diffused the faith and doctrines of Mohammed. Their empire was not confined even by these extended limits ; but, under Musa, entered Spain, and at Roncesvalles encountered the embattled chivalry of the Christian world under Charlemagne.

The Saracenic power did not long retain its unity or importance ; and as we view this territory in the dawn of modern history, when the countries of Europe are appearing in their new nationalities, we discern five different communities or states, — Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, — the latter of little moment and often included in Tripoli, the whole constituting what was then and is still called the Barbary States. This name has sometimes been referred to the Berbers, or Berebbers, so called, constituting a part of the inhabitants ; but I delight to follow the classic authority of Gibbon, who thinks* that the term first applied by Greek pride to all strangers, and finally reserved for those only who were savage or hostile, has justly settled as a local denomination along the northern coast of Africa. The Barbary States, then, bear their past character in their name.

They occupy an important space on the earth's surface ; on the north, washed by the Mediterranean Sea, furnishing such opportunities of prompt intercourse with Southern Europe, that Cato was able to exhibit in the Roman Senate figs which had been freshly plucked in the gardens of Carthage ; bounded on the east by Egypt, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by the vast, indefinite, sandy, flinty wastes of Sahara, separating them from Soudan or Negroland. In the advantages of position they surpass every other part of Africa, — unless, perhaps, we except Egypt, — communicating so easily as they do with the Christian nations, and thus, as it were, touching the very hem and border of civilization.

Climate adds its attractions to this territory, which is removed

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chap. lvi. Vol. IX. p. 465.

from the cold of the north and the burning heats of the tropics, while it is enriched with oranges, citrons, olives, figs, pomegranates, and luxuriant flowers. Its position and character invite a singular and instructive comparison. It is placed between the twenty-ninth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude, occupying nearly the same parallels with what are called the Slave States of our Union. It extends over nearly the same number of degrees of longitude with our Slave States, which seem to stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rio Grande. It is supposed to embrace about 700,000 square miles, which cannot be far from the space comprehended by what may be called the *Barbary States of America*. Nor does the comparison end here. Algiers, which has been the most obnoxious place in the Barbary States of Africa, which was branded by an indignant writer as "the wall of the barbarian world," and which was the chief seat of Christian slavery, is situated on the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude, being the line of what is termed the Missouri Compromise, marking the "wall" of Christian slavery in our country west of the Mississippi.

Other less important points of likeness between the two territories may be observed. They are each washed to the same extent by the sea, with this difference, that the African States are bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Atlantic ; whereas, the American States are bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east by the Atlantic. But there are no two spaces on the surface of the globe of equal extent (and an examination of the map will verify what I am about to state), which present so many distinctive features of resemblance, whether we consider the parallels of latitude on which they lie, the nature of their boundaries, their productions, their climate, or the "peculiar domestic institution" which has sought shelter in both.

I have introduced these comparisons in order to bring home to your minds, as near as possible, the precise position and character of the territory which was the seat of the evil I am about to describe. It might be worthy of inquiry, why Christian slavery, banished at last from Europe, banished also from that part of this hemisphere which corresponds to Europe, should have intrenched itself in both hemispheres between the same parallels of latitude ; so that Virginia, Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas should be the American complement to Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. Perhaps the common peculiarities of climate, breeding indolence, las-

situde, and selfishness, may account for the insensibility to the claims of justice and humanity which seem to have characterized both regions.

The cruel custom of enslaving Christians in the Barbary States was for many years the shame of modern civilization. The nations of Europe made various efforts, continued through successive centuries, to procure its *abolition*, and to rescue their subjects from bondage. These may be traced in the pages of history. Literature also affords illustrations of its character which must not be neglected. At one period, the French, the Italians, and the Spanish borrowed most of the plots of their stories from this source.* The adventures of Robinson Crusoe make us familiar with one of its forms. He was captured by a Sallee† rover, and made a slave. "At this surprising change of my circumstances," he says, "from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back uponmy father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable and have none to relieve me, which I thought was so effectually brought to pass, that I could not be worse."‡ And Cervantes, in the story of Don Quixote, over which so many generations have shaken with laughter, turns aside from its genial current to give the narrative of a Spanish captive who had escaped from Algiers. The author is supposed to have drawn from his own experience; for he was during five years and a half in slavery at Algiers, from which he was finally liberated by a ransom of about six hundred dollars.§ This inconsiderable sum of money gave to freedom, to his country, and to mankind the author of Don Quixote.‖

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* Sismondi's View of the Literature of the South of Europe, Vol. III. p. 402, Ch. 29.

† Sallee is a port of Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean.

‡ Chap. II.

§ The exact amount is left uncertain both by Smollet and Thomas Roscoe in their lives of Cervantes. It appears that it was five hundred gold crowns of Spain, which, according to Navarrete, is 6770 reals (*Vida de Cervantes*, p. 371). The real is supposed to be less than ten cents.

‖ The unhappy condition of his fellow-captives seems to have been ever uppermost in the mind of Cervantes. He lost no opportunity of arousing his countrymen to efforts for their emancipation, and for the overthrow of the "peculiar institution" under which they groaned. This was not done, as in our day, by means of public addresses and meetings, but mainly through the instrumentality of the theatre. Shortly after his return to Spain, he pictured the various sufferings, pains, and hu-

With these preliminary remarks, the way is now open for the consideration of the subject to which I have invited your attention. In unfolding it I shall naturally be led to touch upon the *origin of slavery*, and the principles which lie at its foundation, before proceeding to the contemplation of the efforts for its abolition, and their final success in the Barbary States.

I. Slavery was universally recognized by the nations of antiquity. It is said by Pliny, in a bold phrase, that the Lacedæmonians "invented slavery."* If this were so, the glory of Lycurgus and Leonidas would not compensate for this blot upon their character. It is true that they recognized it, and gave it a shape of peculiar hardship. But slavery is older than Sparta. It appears in the tents of Abraham ; for the three hundred and eighteen servants born to him were slaves.† It appears in the story of Joseph, who was sold by his brothers to the Midianites for twenty pieces of silver.‡ It ap-

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miliations of slavery in a comedy, — which found much favor, though not artistic in its composition, — entitled *El Trato de Argel*, or Life in Algiers. This was followed by two others in the same spirit, — *Los Baños de Argel*, The Galleys of Algiers, and *La Gran Sultana Doña Cattalina de Oviedo*. The last act of the *Baños* closes with the information, that this comedy "is not drawn from the imagination, but was born far from the regions of fiction, in the very heart of truth." The same may be said of the tales of *The Captive* in Don Quixote, *El Liberal Amante*, The Liberal Lover, and some parts of *La Española Inglesa*. All these are to be regarded, not merely as literary labors, but as charitable endeavours in the cause of human freedom. Lope de Vega, whom Cervantes calls "that prodigy," has employed his genius in the same cause, in his comedy, The Captives of Algiers, *Los Cautivos de Argel;* and at a later day Calderon, in his *El Principe Constante*, has cast a poet's glance at Christian slavery in Morocco. In England the story of *Inkle and Yarico*, by Steele, in the Spectator, and some parts of the drama of *Oronooko*, by Southerne, have taught the cruelty and injustice of enslaving our fellow-men. All these belong to what may be called the literature of Antislavery.

* Nat. Hist., Lib. VII. c. 57. The word *slave*, which enters into the languages of modern Europe, in its original use signified *glory*, and was proudly assumed as the national designation of the races in the northeastern part of that continent, who were afterwards degraded from the condition of conquerors to that of servitude ; *Slava* (*laus*, *gloria*) *Slavonian*. See Gibbon, Roman Empire, Vol. X. p. 190, c. 55, notes. In the Russian language it still signifies glory ; as *Slava Rossie*, Glory of Russia. Sauer's Travels, p. 139. Strange that the word should have undergone such a change in its meaning ! But its original sense may still be received by those who consider slavery essential to democratic institutions, and therefore a part of the true *glory* of the country.

† Genesis xiv. 14.

‡ Genesis xxxvii. 28. Slavery, and even the *slave-trade*, have been vindicated by these and other texts of the Scriptures. See Bruce's Travels in Africa, Vol. II.

pears in the poetry of Homer, who stamps it with a reprobation which can never be forgotten, when he says,* —

> "Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
> Makes man a slave takes half his worth away."

In later days it prevailed extensively in Greece, whose haughty people deemed themselves justified in enslaving all who were strangers to their manners and institutions. "The Greek has the right to be the master of the barbarian," was the sentiment of Euripides, one of the first of her poets, which was echoed by Aristotle, the greatest of her intellects.† And even Plato, in his imaginary republic, the Utopia of his beautiful genius, still sanctions slavery. But, notwithstanding these high names, we learn from Aristotle himself, that there were persons in his day — pestilent Abolitionists of ancient Athens — who did not hesitate to maintain that liberty was the great law of nature, acknowledging no difference between the master and the slave, — that slavery was, therefore, founded upon violence, and not upon right, and the authority of the master unnatural and unjust.‡ I am not in any way authorized to speak for any Antislavery society, even if this were a proper occasion; but I presume that this ancient Greek morality embodies substantially the principles of the resolutions which are put forth at their public meetings, — so far, at least, as they relate to slavery.

It is true, most true, that slavery stands on force and not on right. It is one of the results of war, or of that barbarism in which savage war plays such a conspicuous part. It was supposed that to the victor belonged the lives of his captives, and, by consequence, that he might bind them in perpetual servitude. This principle, which

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p. 319. After quoting these texts, he says that he "cannot think that purchasing slaves is either cruel or unnatural."

* Odyssey, Book XVII.

† Pol., Lib. I. c. 1.

‡ Pol., Lib. I. c. 3. A Scholiast on Aristotle's Rhetoric has preserved a saying to this purpose of Alcidamas, the scholar of Gorgias of Leontium, — "God sent forth all persons free; nature has made no man a slave." In conformity with this are the words of the good Las Casas, when pleading before Charles the Fifth for the Indian races of America. "The Christian religion," he said, "is equal in its operation, and is accommodated to every nation on the globe. *It robs no one of his freedom, violates none of his inherent rights, on the ground that he is a slave by nature, as pretended;* and it well becomes your Majesty *to banish* so monstrous an oppression from your kingdoms in the beginning of your reign, that the Almighty may make it long and glorious." — Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, Vol. I. p. 379.

has been the foundation of slavery in all ages, is adapted to the rudest conditions of society only, and is wholly inconsistent with a period of real refinement, humanity, and justice. It is true that it was recognized by Greece ; but her civilization, brilliant, to the external view, as the immortal sculptures of the Parthenon, was, like that stately temple, dark and cheerless within.

Slavery extended, with new rigors, under the military dominion of Rome. The spirit of freedom which animated the days of the republic was of that selfish and intolerant character which accumulated privileges upon the Roman citizen, while it heeded little the rights of others. But, unlike the Greeks, the Romans admitted in theory that all men were originally free by the law of nature, and they ascribed the power of masters over slaves, not to any alleged diversities in the races of men, but to the will of society.* The constant triumphs of their arms were signalized by reducing to captivity large crowds of the subjugated people. Paulus Emilius returned from Macedonia with an uncounted train of slaves, composed of persons in every department of life ; and in the camp of Lucullus, in Pontus, slaves were sold for four drachmæ, or seventy-two cents, a head. Terence and Phædrus, Roman slaves, have, however, taught us that genius is not always quenched even by a degrading captivity ; while the writings of Cato the Censor, one of the most virtuous slaveholders in history, show the hardening influence of a system which treats human beings as cattle. "Let the husbandman," says Cato, "sell his old oxen, his sickly cattle, his sickly sheep, his wool, his hides, his old wagon, his old implements, *his old slave, and his diseased slave. He should be a seller, rather than a buyer.*" †

The cruelty and inhumanity which flourished in the republic, professing freedom, found a natural home under the emperors, — the high-priests of despotism. Wealth increased, and with it the number of slaves. Some persons are said to have owned as many as ten thousand, while extravagant prices were often paid, according to the fancy or caprice of the purchaser. ‡

It is easy to believe that slavery, which prevailed to such an ex-

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* Institute I. tit. 2.

† "Vendat boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pelles, plostrum vetus, ferramenta vetera, *servum senem, servum morbosum*, et si quid aliud supersit, vendat. *Patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet.*" — *De Re Rustica*, § 2.

‡ Martial mentions a handsome youth who cost as much as four hundred sestertia, or $16,000. Ep. III. 62.

tent in Greece and Rome, must have existed in Africa. It was here, indeed, that it found a peculiar home. If we trace the progress of that unfortunate continent, from those distant days of fable when Jupiter

> " did not disdain to grace
> The feast of Æthiopia's blameless race," *

the merchandise in slaves will be found to have contributed to the abolition of two hateful customs, once universal in Africa, — the eating of captives, and the sacrificing of them to idols. Thus it is, that, in the march of civilization, even the barbarism of slavery is an important stage of human progress.

In the early periods of modern Europe, slavery was a general custom, which has only gradually yielded to the humane influences of Christianity. † It was fair-haired Saxon slaves from England that arrested the attention of Pope Gregory in the markets of Rome. As late as the thirteenth century, it was the custom on the continent of Europe to treat all captives taken in war as slaves. Of this Othello is a sufficient witness, when he speaks

> " Of being taken by the insolent foe
> *And sold to slavery;* of my redemption thence." ‡

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* Iliad, Book I.

† It appears from William of Malmesbury (Book II. ch. 20, Life of St. Wolston), that there was a cruel slave-trade in whites which once prevailed in England. " Directly opposite," he says, " to the Irish coast, there is a seaport called Bristol, the inhabitants of which frequently sail into Ireland to sell those people whom they had bought up throughout England. They exposed to sale maidens in a state of pregnancy, with whom they made a sort of mock *marriages*. There you might see with grief, fastened together by ropes, whole rows of wretched beings of both sexes, of elegant forms, and in the very bloom of youth, — a sight sufficient to excite pity even in barbarians, — daily offered for sale to the first purchaser. Accursed deed! Infamous disgrace! that men, acting in a manner which brutal instinct alone would have forbidden, should sell into slavery their relations, nay, even their own offspring." When Ireland, in 1172, was afflicted with public calamities, the people, but *chiefly the clergy* (*præcipue clericorum*) began to reproach themselves, believing that these evils were brought upon their country, because, *contrary to the right of Christian freedom*, they had bought as slaves the English boys brought to them by the merchants; wherefore, the English slaves were allowed, throughout all Ireland, by the consent of all, to depart in freedom. (*Quod olim Anglorum pueros a mercatoribus ad se advectos in servitutem emerant contra jus Christianæ libertatis; unde, cum omnium consensu, per totam Hiberniam, servi Angli abire permissi sunt.*) — Chronica Hiberniæ, or the Annals of Phil. Flatesbury in the Cottonian Library, Domitian A. XVIII. 10, quoted in Stephens on West India Slavery, Vol. I. p. 6.

‡ Drayton's picture of the French, in his poem of *The Battle of Agincourt*, may also be quoted : —

It was also held lawful to enslave all infidels, or persons who did not receive the Christian faith. The early common law of England doomed heretics to the stake; the Catholic Inquisition did the same; and the Laws of Oleron, the maritime code of the Middle Ages, treated them "as dogs," to be attacked and despoiled by all true believers.* It appears that Philip le Bel of France, in 1296, presented his brother Charles, Count of Valois, with a *Jew*, and that he paid Pierre de Chambly three hundred livres for another *Jew*.† And the statutes of Florence, boastful of freedom, as late as 1415, expressly allowed republican citizens to hold slaves who were not of the Christian faith.‡ And still further, the comedies of Molière, depicting Italian usages not remote from his own day, show that at Naples and Messina even Christian women continued to be sold as slaves.§

It is not astonishing, then, that the barbarous states of Barbary — a part of Africa, the great womb of slavery, — professing Mahometanism, which not only recognizes slavery, but expressly ordains "chains and collars" to infidels‖ — should continue and perpetuate the traffic in slaves, particularly in those who did not receive the faith of their Prophet. In the duty of constant war upon unbelievers, and in asserting a right to the services or ransom of their captives, they followed the lessons of Christians themselves.

It is not difficult, then, to account for the origin of the cruel custom now under consideration. Its *history* forms our next topic.

II. The Barbary States, after the decline of the Arabian power, seem to be enveloped in darkness, rendered more palpable by the increasing light among the Christian nations. As we behold them in the fifteenth century, in the twilight of European civilization, they appear to be little more than scattered bands of robbers and pirates,

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"For knots of cord to every town they send,
The captived English that they caught to bind;
For to perpetual slavery they intend
Those that alive they on the field should find."

* Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, Vol. II. p. 30.

† *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Jurisprudence), Art. *Esclavage*.

‡ "Qui non sunt Catholicæ fidei et Christianæ." See *De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage Ancien en Occident, par Biot*, p. 440; a work crowned with a gold medal by the Institute of France, but which will be read with some disappointment.

§ *L'Etourdi; Le Sicilien; L'Avare.*

‖ Koran, Chap. 76.

— the land-rats and water-rats of Shylock, — leading the lives of Ishmaelites. Algiers is described by an early writer as "a den of sturdy thieves, formed into a body, by which, after a tumultuary sort, they govern."* The habit of enslaving the prisoners they took in war and in their piratical depredations aroused against them the sacred animosities of Christendom. Ferdinand the Catholic, after the conquest of Granada, and while the boundless discoveries of Columbus, giving to Castile and Aragon a new world, still occupied his mind, found time to direct an expedition into Africa, which was placed under the military command of that great ecclesiastic, Cardinal Ximenes. It is recorded that this valiant soldier of the Church, on effecting the conquest of Oran, in 1509, had the inexpressible satisfaction of liberating upwards of three hundred Christian slaves.†

The progress of the Spanish arms induced the government of Algiers to invoke assistance from abroad. At this time, two brothers, Horuc and Hayradin, the sons of a potter in the island of Lesbos, had become famous as corsairs. In an age when the sword of an adventurer often carved a higher fortune than could be earned by lawful exertion, they were dreaded for their abilities, their hardihood, and their power. To them Algiers turned for aid. The corsairs left the sea to sway the land; or rather, with amphibious robbery, they took possession of Algiers and Tunis, while they continued to scourge the sea. The name of Barbarossa, by which they were known to Christians, is terrible in modern history.‡

With pirate ships they infested the seas, and spread their ravages along the coasts of Spain and Italy, until Charles the Fifth was aroused to undertake their overthrow. The various strength of his broad dominions was rallied in this new crusade. "If the enthusiasm," says Sismondi, "which armed the Christians at an earlier day was nearly extinct, another sentiment, more rational and legitimate, now united the vows of Europe. The contest was no longer to reconquer the tomb of Christ, but to defend the civilization, the liberty, the lives, of Christians."§ A stanch body of infantry from Ger-

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* Harleian Miscellany, Vol. V. p. 522, — *A Discourse concerning Tangiers.*

† Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. III. p. 308; Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. II. p. 813.

‡ Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Book V.; *Topographia y Historia de Argel por Fra Haedo; Epitome de los Reyes de Argel.*

§ Sismondi, *Histoire des Français,* Tom. XVII. p. 102.

many, the veterans of Spain and Italy, the flower of the Spanish nobility, the knights of the Order of Malta, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, contributed by Italy, Portugal, and even distant Holland, under the command of Andrew Doria, the great sea-officer of the age, — the whole being under the immediate eye of the Emperor himself, with the countenance and benediction of the Pope, and composing one of the most complete armaments which the world had then seen, — were directed upon Tunis. Barbarossa opposed them bravely, but with unequal forces. While slowly yielding to the attack from without, his defeat was hastened by an unexpected insurrection within. In the citadel were a number of Christian slaves, who, in the assertion of the rights of freedom, obtained a bloody emancipation, and turned the artillery against their former masters. The town yielded to the Emperor, whose soldiers soon surrendered themselves to the inhuman excesses of war. The blood of thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants reddened his victory. Amidst this scene of horror there was but one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction. Ten thousand Christian slaves met him as he entered the town, and, falling on their knees, thanked him as their deliverer.*

In the treaty of peace which ensued, it was expressly stipulated on the part of Tunis, that all Christian slaves, of whatever nation, should be set at liberty without ransom, and that no subject of the Emperor should for the future be detained in slavery.†

The apparent generosity of this undertaking, the magnificence with which it was conducted, and the success with which it was crowned, drew to the Emperor the homage of his age beyond any other event of his reign. Twenty thousand slaves, freed by his arms or by the treaty, diffused through Europe the praise of his name. It is probable that the Emperor was governed in this expedition by motives little higher than those of vulgar ambition and fame; but the results with which it was crowned, in the emancipation of so many of his fellow-Christians from cruel chains, place him with Cardinal Ximenes among the earliest Abolitionists of modern times.

This was in 1535. In 1517, only a few short years before, he had granted to one of his Flemish courtiers the exclusive privilege of importing four thousand blacks from Africa into the West Indies.

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* Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Book V. † Ibid.

Perhaps no single order in history has had such disastrous consequences.* The Fleming sold his privilege to some Genoese merchants, who organized a *systematic* traffic in slaves between Africa and America. Thus, while the Emperor levied a mighty force to check the piracies of Barbarossa, and to procure the abolition of Christian slavery in Tunis, with a wretched inconsistency, he laid the corner-stone of a new system of slavery in America, in comparison with which what he sought to suppress was trivial and fugitive.

Elated by the conquest of Tunis, and filled with the ambition of subduing all the Barbary States, and of extirpating the "peculiar institution" of Christian slavery, the Emperor in 1541 directed an expedition of singular grandeur against Algiers. The Pope again joined his influence to the martial array. But nature proved stronger than the Pope and Emperor. A sudden storm shattered his proud fleet, within sight of Algiers, and he was obliged to return to Spain, discomfited, bearing none of those trophies of emancipation by which his former expedition had been crowned.†

The power of the Barbary States was now at its height. Their corsairs became the scourge of Christendom, while their much-dreaded system of slavery assumed a front of new terrors. Their ravages were not confined to the Mediterranean. They penetrated the ocean, and pressed even to the Straits of Dover and St. George's Channel. From the chalky cliffs of England, and even from the distant western coasts of Ireland, the inhabitants were swept into cruel captivity.‡ The English government were at last aroused to efforts to check these atrocities. In 1620, a fleet of eighteen ships, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel, the Vice-Admiral of England, was despatched against Algiers. It returned

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* Mr. Clarkson says that Charles lived long enough to repent what he had thus inconsiderately done. — History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, Vol. I. p. 38.

† Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Book VI.; Harleian Miscellany, Vol. IV., p. 504, — "A lamentable and piteous Treatise, verye necessarye for euerie Christen Manne to reade [or the Expedition of Charles the Fifth], truly and dylygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English, 1542."

‡ Guizot's History of the English Revolution, Vol. I. p. 69, Book II.; Strafford's Letters and Despatches, Vol. I. p. 68. It was the boast of Sir George Radcliffe, the friend of the Earl, in the biographical sketch of him attached to his letters and despatches, that "he secured the seas from piracies, so as only one ship was lost at his first coming [as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland], and no more all his time; whereof every year before, not only several ships and goods were lost by robbery at sea, but also Turkish men-of-war usually landed and *took prey of men to be made slaves.*" — Ibid., Vol. II. p. 434.

without being able, in the language of the times, "to destroy those hellish pirates," though it obtained the liberation of forty "poor captives, which they pretended was all they had in the towne." "The efforts of the English fleet were aided," says Purchas, "by a Christian captive, which did swim from the towne to the ships."* It is not in this respect only that this expedition calls to mind that of Charles the Fifth, which received such important assistance from the rebel slaves; we also observe a similar inconsistency of conduct in the government which directed it. It was in the year 1620, — dear to all the descendants of the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock as an epoch of freedom, — while an English fleet was seeking the emancipation of Englishmen held in bondage by Algiers, that black slaves were first introduced into the English colonies of North America! †

The expedition against Algiers was followed, in 1637, by another, under the command of Captain Rainsborough, against Sallee, in Morocco. At his approach, the Moors sold a thousand of their captives, British subjects, to Tunis and Algiers. Intestine feud aided the fleet, and the cause of emancipation speedily triumphed.‡ Two hundred and ninety British captives were surrendered, and a promise was extorted from the government of Sallee to redeem the thousand captives who had been sold away to Tunis and Algiers. An ambassador from the king of Morocco shortly afterwards visited England, and on his way to his audience at court was attended through the streets of London "by four Barbary horses led along in rich caparisons, and richer saddles, with bridles set with stones; also some hawks; *many of the captives whom he brought over going along afoot clad in white.*" §

The success of this enterprise seems to have been hailed in England with singular joy. It inspired the Muse of Waller,‖ and filled

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* Purchas's Pilgrims, pp. 885, 886; Southey's Naval History of England, Vol. V. pp. 60 – 63. There appears to have been a publication especially relating to this expedition, entitled, "Algiers Voyage, in a Journall or briefe Repertory of all Occurrents hapning in the Fleet of Ships sent out by the Kinge his Most Excellent Majestie, as well against the Pirates of Algiers as others. London. 1621. 4to."

† Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I. p. 187.

‡ They also were aided by "some Christians that were slaves ashore, who stole away out of the town and came swimming aboard." — Osborne's Voyages, — Journal of the Sallee Fleet, Vol. II. p. 493. See also Mrs. Macaulay's History of England, Vol. II. Chap. 4. p. 219.

§ Strafford's Letters and Despatches, Vol. II. pp. 86, 116, 129.

‖ Among his poems is one "On the Taking of Sallee," in which he describes the visit of the ambassador of Morocco with presents: —

with exultation the dark mind of Strafford. "Sallee, the town, is taken," said Archbishop Laud in a letter to the latter, in Ireland, "and all the captives at Sallee and Morocco delivered; *as many, our merchants say, as, according to the price of the markets, come to ten thousand pounds, at least.*" * Strafford saw in the popularity of this triumph a fresh opportunity to commend the tyrannical designs of Charles the First. "This action of Sallee," he wrote in reply to the archbishop, "I assure you is full of honor, and should, methinks, help much towards the ready cheerful payment of the shipping monies." †

The coasts of England were now protected; but her subjects at sea continued to be the prey of Algerine corsairs. The Jacobite historian Carte says, ‡ — "They carried their English captives to France, *drove them in chains overland to Marseilles, to ship them thence with greater safety for slaves to Algiers.*" The increasing troubles which distracted and finally cut short the reign of Charles the First did not divert attention from the sorrows of the Englishmen who had fallen into the hands of these Mahometan slave-drivers. At the very height of the struggles between the king and Parliament, an earnest voice was raised in behalf of these fellow-Christians in bonds. § There are publications pleading their cause, bearing date in 1640, 1642, and 1647. ‖ The overthrow of such an odious oppression formed a worthy object for the imperial energies

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"Hither he sends the chief among his peers,
Who in his bark proportioned presents bears,
To the renowned for piety and force,
Poor captives manumised and matchless horse."

* Strafford's Letters and Despatches, Vol. II. p. 131.

† Ibid., p. 138.

‡ Carte's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 231, Book 22.

§ Waller, who was an orator as well as poet, in a speech in Parliament in 1641, said, — "By the many petitions which we receive from the wives of those miserable captives at Algiers (being between four and five thousand of our countrymen) it does too evidently appear, that to make us slaves at home is not the way to keep us from being made slaves abroad." — Waller's Works, p. 271.

‖ Compassion towards Captives, urged in Three Sermons, on Heb. xiii. 3, by Charles Fitz-Geoffrey, 1642. Libertas; or Relief to the English Captives in Algiers, by Henry Robinson, London, 1647. Letters relating to the Redemption of the Captive in Algiers, at Tunis, by Edward Cason Laud, 1647. A Relation of Seven Years' Slavery under the Turks of Algiers, suffered by an English Captive Merchant, with a Description of the Sufferings of the Miserable Captives under that Merciless Tyranny, by Francis Knight, London, 1640. The latter publication is preserved in the Collection of Voyages and Travels by Osborne, Vol. II. pp. 465 - 489.

of Cromwell ; and in 1655, — when, amidst the amazement of Europe, the English sovereignty had already settled upon his Atlantean shoulders, — he directed a navy of thirty ships, under Admiral Blake, into the Mediterranean. This was the most powerful English force which had sailed into that sea since the Crusades.* Tunis and Algiers were humbled ; all British captives were set at liberty ; and the Protector, in his remarkable speech at the opening of Parliament in the next year, announced peace with the "profane" nations in that region. †

Perhaps no single circumstance gives a higher impression of the vigilance with which the Protector guarded his subjects, than this effort. ‡ His vigorous sway was followed by the effeminate tyranny of Charles the Second, whose restoration was inaugurated by an unsuccessful expedition under Lord Sandwich against Algiers. This was soon followed by another under Admiral Lawson, with a more favorable result. § By a treaty bearing date May 3d, 1662, this piratical government expressly stipulated, "that all subjects of the king of Great Britain, now slaves in Algiers, or any of the territories thereof, be set at liberty, and released, upon paying the price they were first sold for in the market ; and for the time to come no subjects of his Majesty shall be bought or sold, or made slaves of, in Algiers or its territories." || Other expeditions ensued, and other

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* Hume says (Vol. VII. p. 259, Chap. LXI.), — "No English fleet, except during the Crusades, *had ever before sailed in those seas.*" He forgot, or was not aware of, the expedition of Sir John Mansel, which has been already referred to (*ante*, p. 15), the expediency of which was elaborately debated in the Privy Council as early as 1617, three years before it was finally undertaken. See Southey's Naval History of England, Vol. V. pp. 149 - 157.

† "And so likewise with the Portugal, with France,—the Mediterranean Sea ; both these States ; both Christian and profane ; the Mahometan ; you have peace with them all." — Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, Vol. II. p. 235, Part IX. Speech V.

"General Blak," said one of the foreign agents of government, "has ratifyed the articles of peace at Argier, and included therein Scotch, Irish, Jarnsey and Garnsey-men, and all others the Protector's subjects. He has lykewys redeemed from thence al such as wer captives ther. *Several Dutch captives swam aboard the fleet, and so escape theyr captivity.*" — Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 527.

‡ Waller, in his panegyric on the Protector, has the following verses : —

"Fame, swifter than your winged navy, flies
Through every land that near the ocean lies,
Sounding your name, and telling dreadful news
To all that piracy and rapine use."

§ Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. pp. 858, 864.

|| *Recueil des Traitez de Paix*, Tom. IV. p. 43.

treaties in 1664, 1672, 1682, and 1686, — showing, by their constant recurrence, the little impression produced upon the minds of these barbarians.* Insensible to justice and freedom, they naturally held in slight regard the obligations of fidelity to any stipulations in restraint of robbery and slaveholding.

Complaints continued to be made, during a long succession of years, of the sufferings of English captives;† and many American families, even in those early days of the Colonies, while they were still struggling with the savage Indians, were compelled to mourn the hapless fate of brothers, fathers, and husbands, doomed to Algerine slavery.‡ But during all this time, the slavery of blacks, who were transported to the Colonies under English colors, still continued.

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* Ibid., pp. 307, 476, 703, 756.

† The feelings of an earnest soul found expression in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748, Vol. XVIII. p. 531: —

"O how can Britain's sons regardless hear
The prayers, sighs, groans (immortal infamy!)
Of fellow-Britons, with oppression sunk,
In bitterness of soul demanding aid,
Calling on Britain, their dear native land,
The land of liberty!"

‡ In the MS. diary of the Rev. John Eliot (the first minister of Roxbury, and the apostle to the Indians) prefixed to the first volume of the Roxbury Church Records (Rev. Dr. Putnam's church) are the following words: —

"1673, 3m. [May.] Tidings concerning the redemption of Mr. Foster of Charlestown from captivity, after neer 18 months' slavery, and his return to London, his sonn William coming home to his mother at Charlestown, having been his fath^rs^ companion in bondage."

"1673, 1d. 10m. [Dec. 1.] Captain Foster returned home after his captivity."

This was "William Foster, of Charlestown, navigator," who "died at Charlestown, May 8, 1698, aged about 80." He was 54 or 55 years old when taken captive in 1671.

It appears by the MSS. of the late Hon. William Winthrop of Cambridge, and by the probate records and files of the county of Middlesex (Mass.), that Dr. Daniel Mason — the earliest graduate by the name of Mason at Harvard College — sailed as the physician and surgeon of Captain James Ellson, from Charlestown, about 1678 or 1679, in a ship which was taken by a Barbary corsair and carried into Algiers, whence these persons and others with them never returned. They probably died in captivity. In a testamentary letter addressed to his wife, and dated at Algiers, June 30, 1679, Captain Ellson desired her to redeem out of captivity Asher Bearstow (of Watertown), and Richard Ellson, his brother, and to give to his doctor, Daniel Mason, £5. (Middlesex Probate Files.)

William Harris, one of the associates of Roger Williams in the first planting of Providence, when in the sixty-eighth year of his age, undertook a voyage to England, to defend the title of the Petuxet claimants, and to obtain from the king execution of former decrees in their favor. He sailed from Boston in the ship Unity,

Meanwhile, France had plied Algiers with embassies and bombardments. It appears that in 1635 there were three hundred and forty-seven Frenchmen captives there. Monsieur de Sampson was sent on an unsuccessful mission, to procure their liberation. They were offered to him "for the price they were sold for in the market"; but this he refused to pay.* Next came, in 1637, Monsieur de Mantel, who was called "that noble captain, and glory of the French nation," "with fifteen of his king's ships, and a commission to enfranchise the French slaves." But he also returned, leaving his countrymen still in captivity.† Treaties, however, followed at a later day, which were hastily concluded, and abruptly broken, till at last Louis the Fourteenth did for France what Cromwell had done for England. In 1684, Algiers, being twice bombarded‡ by his command, sent deputies to sue for peace, and to surren-

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William Condy master. The vessel was taken by a Barbary corsair, Jan. 24th, 1679, and was carried to Algiers, where Mr. Harris with the others, on the 23d or 24th of February, was sold into slavery. After remaining in this condition more than a year, his redemption was obtained at the cost of $1200, "the price of a good farm," as is stated in some of his papers. The fate of his companions is unknown.

The following extract from the MS. journal of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall refers to the captivity of still another American: —

"1714 – 5, *Jan.* 10*th.* Snowy day. Mr. Gee sends his son to invite me to diner to-morrow at his hous. — *Tuesday, Jan.* 11*th.* Went thither, where din'd Dr. Increase and Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Thornton [Timothy], Mr. Jno. Marion, Deacon Barnard, Mr. Ruck, Capt. Martyn, Mr. Hallawell. It seems it was in remembrance of his landing this day at Boston, after his Algerine captivity. Had a good treat. Dr. Cotton Mather, in returning thanks, very well comprised many weighty things very pertinently."

It is to be hoped that among the weighty things very pertinently comprised by Cotton Mather in returning thanks was a condemnation of slavery. He could not then have shrunk from giving utterance to that faith which preaches deliverance to the captive.

I am indebted for these notices to Dr. Harris, the Librarian of Harvard University, and Mr. J. Wingate Thornton, of the Boston bar, both of whom have interested themselves much in our early history. It is probable that other cases might be traced, here and in other parts of the country.

* Osborne's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 468; Relation of Seven Years' Slavery in Algiers.

† Ibid., p. 470.

‡ In the melancholy history of war, this is noticed as the earliest instance of the *bombardment* of a town. Sismondi, who never fails to regard the past in the light of humanity, remarks, that "Louis the Fourteenth was the first to put in practice the atrocious method, newly invented, of bombarding towns, — of burning them, not to take them, but to destroy them, — *of attacking, not fortifications, but private houses, — not soldiers, but peaceable inhabitants, women and children, — and of confounding*

der all her Christian slaves. Tunis and Tripoli made the same submission. Voltaire says, with his accustomed point, that, by this transaction, the French became respected on the coast of Africa, where they had before been known only by the slaves which the barbarians there had made.*

A story is told† which shows the little interest taken by the French in the cause of general freedom, even while engaged in securing the emancipation of their own countrymen. As an officer of the triumphant fleet received the Christian slaves who were brought to him and liberated, he observed among them many English, who, in the vain pride of nationality, maintained that they were set at liberty out of regard to the king of England. The Frenchman at once summoned the Algerines, and, returning the English captives into their hands, said, — "These people pretend that they have been delivered in the name of their monarch; mine does not offer them his protection. I return them to you. It is for you to show what you owe to the king of England." The miserable captives were again hurried to prolonged slavery. The power of Charles the Second was as impotent in their behalf as was the sense of justice and humanity in the French officer and the Algerine government.

Time would fail, even if the materials were at hand, to develop the course of other efforts of France against the Barbary States. Nor can I dwell upon the determined conduct of Holland, one of whose greatest naval commanders, Admiral de Ruyter, in 1661, enforced at Algiers the emancipation of several hundred Christian slaves.‡

Thus far I have chiefly followed the history of military expeditions against the Barbary States. But peaceful measures were often employed to procure the *redemption* of slaves; and money accomplished what was vainly attempted by the sword. It was the habit of the European governments, in furtherance of this object, to send

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thousands of private crimes, each one of which would cause horror, in one great public crime, one great disaster, which he regarded only as one of the catastrophes of war." — Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, Tom. XXV. p. 452. How much of this is justly applicable to the recent most wretched murder of women and children by the forces of the United States at Vera Cruz! Algiers was bombarded in the cause of *freedom;* Vera Cruz, to extend *slavery.*

* *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. 14.

† Ibid.

‡ Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XVIII. p. 441.

missions to the different states. These sometimes had a formal diplomatic organization; sometimes they consisted of fathers of the Church, who held it a sacred office, to which they were especially called, to open the prison-doors and let the captives go free.* It was by the intervention of the superiors of the Order of the Holy Trinity, who were despatched to Algiers by Philip the Second of Spain, that Cervantes obtained his freedom by ransom, in 1579.† The expeditions of commerce often served to promote similar designs of charity, and the English government, forgetting or distrusting all their sleeping thunder, sometimes condescended to barter articles of merchandise for the liberty of their subjects.‡

Private efforts often secured the freedom of slaves. Friends at home naturally exerted themselves in their behalf; and many families were straitened by generous contributions to this sacred purpose. It appears that in 1642 there were four French brothers ransomed at the price of six thousand dollars. At this same period, the sum exacted for the poorest Spaniards was "a thousand shillings," while Genoese, "if under twenty-two years of age, were freed for a hundred pounds sterling." § These charitable endeavours were aided by the coöperation of benevolent persons. As early as the thir-

* It is to the relations of several of these missions, that we are indebted for works of interest on the Barbary States. *Busnot, Histoire du Règne de Mouley Ishmael, à Rouen*, 1714. The author was a father of the Holy Trinity, who went, accompanied by some other monks, to Morocco, for the redemption of French captives. *Jean de la Faye, Relation, en Forme de Journal, du Voyage pour la Rédemption des Captifs, à Paris*, 1725. *Voyage to Barbary for the Redemption of Captives in* 1720, *by the Mathurin-Trinitarian Fathers, London*, 1735. This is a translation from the French. *Braithwaite's History of the Revolutions of the Empire of Morocco, London*, 1729. This contains a journal of the mission of John Russel, Esq., from the English government to Morocco, to obtain the liberation of slaves. The expedition seems to have been thoroughly equipped. "The Moors," says the author, "find plenty of every thing but drink, but for that the English generally take care of themselves; for, besides chairs, tables, knives, forks, plates, table-linen, &c., we had two or three mules, loaded with wine, brandy, sugar, and utensils for punch." — p. 82.

† Roscoe's Life of Cervantes, p. 43.

‡ "The following goods, designed as a present from his Majesty to the Dey of Algiers, to redeem near one hundred English captives lately taken, were entered at the custom-house, viz., — 20 pieces of broadcloth, 2 pieces of brocade, 2 pieces of silver tabby, 1 piece of green damask, 8 pieces of Holland, 16 pieces of cambric, a gold repeating watch, 4 silver do., 20 pounds of tea, 300 of loaf-sugar, 5 fuzees, 5 pair of pistols, an escrutoire, 2 clocks, and a box of toys." — Gent. Mag., Vol. IV. p. 104 (1734).

§ Osborne's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 489; Relation of Seven Years' Slavery in Algiers.

teenth century, the *Society of the Fathers of Redemption* was founded, under the sanction of Innocent the Third, expressly for the ransom of Christian slaves from infidels.* In Spain annual contributions were taken for this purpose; and as late as 1748, we meet with a proposition in England "to establish a *society* to carry on the truly charitable design of emancipating" sixty-four Englishmen, in slavery in Morocco.† Cervantes confesses his gratitude to the *Society of Redemption*,‡ and none can fail to bless the authors of that institution of beneficence, — the harbinger of others whose mission is still unfinished. An early Spanish historian, recounting the origin of this Society, — which was said to have been suggested by an angel in the sky, clothed in resplendent light, holding a Christian captive in his right hand and a Moor in the left, — declares that it was not the work of men, but of the great God alone.§ And he dwells on the glory of their lives, as surpassing far that of a Roman triumph; for they share the name as well as the labors of the Redeemer of the world, to whose spirit they are the heirs, and to whose works they are the successors. "Lucullus," he says, affirmed, "that it were better to liberate a single Roman from the hands of the enemy, than to gain all their wealth; but how much greater the gain, more excellent the glory, and more than human is it to redeem a captive! For whosoever redeems him not only liberates him from one death, but from death in a thousand ways, and those ever present, and also from a thousand afflictions, a thousand miseries, a thousand torments and fearful travails, more cruel than death itself." ‖

War and ransom, however, were not the only agents in the emancipation of the Christian slaves in the Barbary States. It is not to be supposed that they endured their lot without *efforts to escape* from its hardships.

> "Since the first moment they put on my chains,
> I 've thought on nothing but the weight of them,
> And how to throw them off."

These are the words of a slave in the play; ¶ but they express

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* Biot, *De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage Ancien*, p. 437.

† Gentleman's Mag., Vol. XVIII. p. 413.

‡ Roscoe's Life of Cervantes, p. 50. See his story of *Española Inglesa*.

§ Haedo, *Historia de Argel*, pp. 142 - 144; *Dialogo I. de la Captiudad*.

‖ Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

¶ Oronooko, Act III. Sc. I. It is not strange that the antislavery character of

the natural sentiments of all who have intelligence sufficient to appreciate the great boon of freedom. "Thanks be to God," says the captive in Don Quixote, "for the great mercies bestowed upon me; for, in my opinion, there is no happiness on earth equal to that of liberty regained."* The history of Algiers abounds in well-authenticated examples of *conspiracy against the government* by Christian slaves. So strong was the passion for freedom! In 1531 and 1559, two different plans were matured, which promised for a while entire success. The slaves were numerous; they had supplied themselves with arms, and keys had been forged with which to open the prisons; but their plot was revealed by one of their own number to the Dey, who doomed the conspirators to the bastinado and the stake. Cervantes, during his captivity, nothing daunted by these disappointed efforts, and the terrible vengeance which awaited them, conceived the plan of a general rising of the Christian slaves, to secure their freedom by the overthrow of the Algerine power, and the surrender of the city to the Spanish crown. This was in the spirit of the sentiment which he has expressed in his writings, that "for liberty we ought to risk life itself, slavery being the greatest evil that can fall to the lot of man."† As late as 1763, we find mention of a similar rising or conspiracy. "Last month," says a journal of high authority,‡ "the Christian slaves at Algiers, to the number of

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this play rendered it an unpopular performance at Liverpool, while the merchants of that port were concerned in the slave-trade.

* Don Quixote, Part I. Book IV. Chap. 12. The same sentiment is expressed by Thomas Phelps, in his account of his captivity and escape from Machiness, in Morocco, in 1685. "Since my escape," he says, "from captivity, and worse than Egyptian bondage, I have, methinks, enjoyed a happiness with which my former life was never acquainted; now that, after a storm and terrible tempest, I have, by miracle, put into a safe and quiet harbour, — after a most miserable slavery to the most unreasonable and barbarous of men, now that I enjoy the immunities and freedom of my native country and the privileges of a subject of England, although my circumstances otherwise are but indifferent, yet I find I am affected with extraordinary emotions and singular transports of joy; now I know what liberty is, and can put a value and make a just estimate of that happiness which before I never well understood. Health can be but slightly esteemed by him who never was acquainted with pain or sickness; and liberty and freedom are the happiness only valuable by a reflection on captivity and slavery." — Osborne's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

† Roscoe's Life of Cervantes, pp. 32, 310, 311. Thomas Phelps breaks forth in a similar strain: — "I looked upon my condition as desperate; my forlorn and languishing state of life, without any hope of redemption, appeared far worse than the terrors of a most cruel death." — Osborne's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 504.

‡ British Annual Register, Vol. VI. p. 60.

four thousand, rose and killed their guards, and massacred all who came in their way ; but after some hours' carnage, during which the streets ran with blood, peace was restored."

But the struggles for freedom did not always assume the shape of conspiracies against the government. They were often *efforts to escape*, sometimes in numbers, and sometimes singly. Cervantes's captivity was filled with such endeavours, in which, however, he was constantly balked, although he persevered with determined skill and courage. One of these was favored by some of his own countrymen, who were hovering on the coast in a vessel from Majorca, and who did not think it wrong to aid in the liberation of captives. Another was favored by certain Christian merchants resident at Algiers, through whose agency a vessel was actually purchased for this purpose.* And still another was supposed to be aided by a Spanish ecclesiastic, Father Olivar, who had visited Algiers to procure the legal redemption of slaves, and who, it was thought, might not be unwilling to promote their escape. If he had any such generous design, he paid the penalty which similar purposes have found elsewhere and in another age. He was seized by the Dey and thrown into chains ; for it was regarded by the Algerine government as a high offence to further in any way the escape of a slave.†

Endeavours for freedom are animating ; nor can any honest nature hear of them without a throb of sympathy. As we dwell on the painful narrative of the unequal contest between tyrannical power and the crushed captive or slave, we cannot but enter the lists on the side of freedom ; and as we behold the contest waged by a few individuals, or, perhaps, by one alone, our sympathy is given to his weakness as well as to his cause. To him we send the unfaltering succour of our good wishes. For him we invoke vigor of arm to defend, and fleetness of foot to escape. The enactments of human laws are vain to restrain the warm tides of our hearts. We pause with rapture on those historic scenes in which freedom has been attempted or preserved through the magnanimous self-sacrifice of friendship or Christian aid. We follow with palpitating bosom the midnight flight of Mary of Scotland from the custody of her

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* Roscoe's Life of Cervantes, pp. 31, 308, 309. I refer to Roscoe as the popular authority. His work appears to be little more than a compilation from Navarrete and Sismondi.

† Ibid., p. 33. See also Haedo, *Historia de Argel*, p. 185.

stern jailers, — we accompany Grotius in his escape from prison in Holland, so adroitly promoted by his wife, — we join with Lavalette in France, in his flight, aided also by his wife, — and we offer our admiration and gratitude to Huger and Bollman, who, unawed by the arbitrary ordinances of Austria, strove heroically, though vainly, to rescue Lafayette from the dungeons of Olmutz. The laws of Algiers — which sanctioned a cruel slavery, and which doomed to condign penalties all endeavours for freedom, and especially all support and countenance of such endeavours — can no longer prevent our homage to Cervantes, not less gallant than renowned, who strove so constantly and earnestly to escape his chains, — nor to those Christians who did not fear to aid him, nor to the good ecclesiastic who suffered in his cause.

It may not be without interest to pursue the story of some of these efforts to escape from slavery in the Barbary States, so far as they can be traced. The following is in the exact words of an early writer : —

"One John Fox, an expert mariner, and a good, approved, and sufficient gunner, was (in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth) taken by the Turkes, and kept eighteene yeeres in most miserable bondage and slavery ; at the end of which time, he espied his opportunity (and God assisting him withall) that hee slew his keeper, and fled to the sea's side, where he found a gally with one hundred and fifty captive Christians, which hee speedily waying their anchor, set saile, and fell to worke like men, and safely arrived in Spaone ; by which meanes, he freed himselfe and a number of poor soules from long and intolerable servitude ; after which, the said John Fox came into England, *and the Queene* (*being rightly informed of his brave exploit*) *did graciously entertaine him for her servant, and allowed him a yeerly pension.*" *

In 1621, a ship of Bristol was captured by an Algerine corsair, of whose fate we have a quaint description. All the Englishmen were taken out except four youths, over whom the Turks, as these barbarians were often called by early writers, put thirteen of their own men, to conduct the ship as a prize to Algiers ; and one of the pirates was appointed captain, being a strong, able, stern, and resolute person. "These four poor youths," so the story proceeds, "being thus fallen into the hands of merciless infidels, began to study and

* Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. II. p. 888.

complot all the means they could for the obtayning of their freedom. They considered the lamentable and miserable estates that they were like to be in, as to be debarred for ever from seeing their friends and country, to be chained, beaten, made slaves, and to eat the bread of affliction in the galleys, all the remainder of their unfortunate lives, and, which was worst of all, never to be partakers of the heavenly word and sacraments. Thus being quite hopeless, and, for any thing they knew, for ever helpless, they sailed five days and nights under the command of the pirates, when, on the fifth night, God, in his great mercy, shewed them a means for their wished-for escape." A sudden wind arose, when the captain coming to help take in the main-sail, two of the English youths "suddenly took him by the breech and threw him overboard; but by fortune he fell into the bunt of the sail, where quickly catching hold of a rope, he, being a very strong man, had almost gotten into the ship again; which John Cook perceiving, leaped speedily to the pump, and took off the pump-brake or handle and cast it to William Long, bidding him knock him down, which he was not long in doing, but, lifting up the wooden weapon, he gave him such a palt on the pate, as made his braines forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the sea." The corsairs were overpowered. The English youths drove them "from place to place in the ship, and having coursed them from poop to the forecastle, they there valiantly killed two of them, and gave another a dangerous wound or two, who, to escape the further fury of their swords, leaped suddenly overboard to go seek his captain." The other nine Turks ran between-decks, where they were fastened by the English, who, directing their course to St. Lucas, in Spain, "in short time, by God's ayde, happily and safely arrived at the said port, *where they sold the nine Turks for galley slaves, for a good summe of money, and, as I thinke, a great deal more than they were worth.*" * "He that shall attribute such things as these," says the ancient historian, grateful for this triumph of freedom, "to the arm of flesh and blood, is forgetful, ungrateful, and in a manner Atheistical."

There is another narrative, derived from the same source, of singular success on the part of several Englishmen in regaining their freedom. Being captured and carried into Algiers, they were sold as slaves. In the words of one of their number,—"*We were hurried like dogs into the market, where, as men sell hacknies in Eng-*

* Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. II. pp. 882, 883.

land, we were tossed up and down to see who would give most for us; and although we had heavy hearts and looked with sad countenances, yet many came to behold us, sometimes taking us by the hand, sometimes turning us round about, sometimes feeling our brawny and naked armes, and so beholding our prices written in our breasts, they bargained for us accordingly, and at last we were all sold." Shortly afterwards several of these Englishmen were put on board an Algerine corsair to serve as slaves. One of them, John Rawlins, who resembled Cervantes in the hardihood of his exertions for freedom, — as, like him, he had lost the use of an arm, — arranged a rising on board. "O hellish slavery," he said, "to be thus subject to dogs! O God! strengthen my heart and hand, and something shall be done to ease us of these mischiefs, and deliver us from these cruel Mahometan dogs. What can be worse? I will either attempt my deliverance at one time or another, or perish in the enterprise." An auspicious moment was seized, and eight English slaves and one French, with the assistance of four Hollanders that were freemen, succeeded, after a bloody contest, in overpowering fifty-two Turks. "When all was done," the story proceeds, "and the ship cleared of the dead bodies, Rawlins assembled his men together, and with one consent gave the praise unto God, using the accustomed service on shipboard, and, for want of books, lifted up their voices to God, as he put into their hearts or renewed their memories; then did they sing a psalm, and, last of all, embraced one another for playing the men in such a deliverance, whereby our fear was turned into joy, and trembling hearts exhilarated that we had escaped such inevitable dangers, and especially the slavery and terror of bondage worse than death itself. The same night we washed our ship, put every thing in as good order as we could, repaired the broken quarter, set up the biticle, and bore up the helme for England, where, by God's grace and good guiding, we arrived at Plimouth, February 17th, 1622." *

In 1685, Thomas Phelps and Edward Baxter, Englishmen, accomplished their escape from captivity in Machiness, in Morocco. One of them had made a previous unsuccessful attempt, which had drawn upon him the punishment of the bastinado, disabling him from work for a twelve-month; "but such was his love of Christian liber-

* Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. II. pp. 889–896.

ty, that he freely declared to his companion, that he would adventure with any fair opportunity." By devious paths, sheltering themselves from observation by day in bushes, or in the branches of fig-trees, they at length reached the sea. With imminent risk of discovery, they succeeded in finding a boat, not far from Sallee, which they took without consulting the proprietor, and rowed to a ship at a distance, which, to their great joy, proved to be an English man-of-war. Making known to the commander the exposed situation of some of the Moorish ships at Mamora, they formed part of an expedition in boats, which boarded and burnt these ships in the night. "One Moor," says the account, "we found aboard, who was presently cut in pieces; another was shot in the head, endeavouring to escape upon the cable; we were not long in taking in our shavings and tar-barrels, and so set her on fire in several places, she being very apt to receive what we designed; for there were several barrels of tar upon deck, and she was newly tarred, as if on purpose. Whilst we were setting her on fire, we heard a noise of some people in the hold; we opened the skuttles, and thereby saved the lives of four Christians, three Dutchmen and one French, who told us the ship on fire was admiral, and belonged to Aly-Hackum, and the other, which we soon after served with the same sauce, was the very ship which in October last took me captive." The Englishman, once a captive, who tells this story, says it is "most especially to move pity for the afflictions of Joseph, to excite compassionate regard to those poor countrymen now languishing in misery and irons, to endeavour their releasement."*

At a still later day, there are instances of the escape of captives. In the British Annual Register,† there is an account of one in a letter from Algiers, dated August 6th, 1772. "A most remarkable escape," it says, "of some Christian prisoners has lately been effected here, which will undoubtedly cause those that have not had that good fortune to be treated with the utmost rigor. On the morning of the 27th July, the Dey was informed that all the Christian slaves had escaped the over-night in a galley; this news soon raised him, and, upon inquiry, it was found to have been a preconcerted plan. About ten at night, seventy-four slaves, who had found means to escape from their masters, met in a large square near the gate

* Osborne's Voyages, Vol. II. pp. 497 – 510.

† Vol. XV. p. 130.

which opens to the harbour, and, being well armed, they soon forced the guard to submit, and, to prevent their raising the city, confined them all in the powder-magazine. They then proceeded to the lower part of the harbour, where they embarked on board a large rowing polacre that was left there for the purpose, and, the tide ebbing out, they fell gently down with it, and passed both the forts. As soon as this was known, three large galleys were ordered out after them; but to no purpose. They returned in three days, with the news of seeing the polacre sail into Barcelona, where the galleys durst not go to attack her."

In the same journal* there is another account, in a letter, dated September 3d, 1776, from Palma, the capital of Majorca. "Forty-six captives," it says, "who were employed to draw stones from a quarry some leagues' distance from Algiers, at a place named Genova, resolved, if possible, to recover their liberty, and yesterday took advantage of the idleness and inattention of forty men who were to guard them, and who had laid down their arms, and were rambling about the shore. The captives attacked them with pick-axes and other tools, and made themselves masters of their arms; and, having killed thirty-three of the forty, and eleven of the thirteen sailors who were in the boat which carried the stones, they obliged the rest to jump into the sea. Being then masters of the boat, and armed with twelve muskets, two pistols, and powder, they set sail and had the good fortune to arrive here this morning, where they are performing quarantine. Sixteen of them are Spaniards; seventeen French; eight Portuguese; three Italian; one a German; and one a Sardinian."

But passing over further details of the various efforts of European nations to overturn the system of White Slavery, and also of its unhappy victims to escape from it, I descend at once to the period when our own government, justly careful of the liberty of its white citizens, was called upon to exert all its powers in their behalf. The war of the Revolution closed in 1783, by the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. Our new national flag was but freshly unfurled, when the Barbary States commenced preying upon our commerce.† Within three years, no less than ten ves-

* Vol. XIX. p. 176.

† Sparks's Works of Franklin, Vol. IX. pp. 506, 507, where the Algerines are called "human harpies."

sels were seized by Algerine corsairs. The property of our merchants was sacrificed or endangered. Insurance at Lloyd's, in London, could be had only at advanced prices ; while it was difficult to obtain freight for American bottoms.* The Mediterranean trade seemed closed to our enterprise. To a people filled with the spirit of commerce, and bursting with new life, this was in itself disheartening ; but the sufferings of the poor sailors, captives in a distant land, aroused a feeling of a higher strain.

It is not easy to comprehend the exact character of the condition to which they were reduced. There is no reason to believe that it differed materially from that of the other Christian captives in Algiers. It is said, that the masters of vessels were lodged together, and had a table by themselves, though a small iron ring was attached to one of their legs, to denote that they were slaves. The seamen were taught and obliged to work at the trades of carpenter, blacksmith, and stone-mason, from six o'clock in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon, without intermission, except for half an hour at dinner.† Some of the details of their mode of life, which have been transmitted to us, are doubtless exaggerated. It is sufficient, however, to know that they were slaves ; nor is there any condition, the bare mention of which, without one word of description, is so strongly calculated to awaken the sympathies of every just and enlightened lover of his race.

Informal agencies were established at an early period, under the direction of our ministers at Paris, with a view to secure their freedom ; and it appears that the *Society of Redemption* — whose beneficent exertions, commencing so early in modern history, were still continued — offered their aid in this behalf. Our agents were blandly entertained by that great slave-dealer, the Dey of Algiers, who informed them that he was well acquainted with the exploits of Washington, and, never expecting to see him, expressed a hope, that, through Congress, he might receive a full-length portrait of that hero of freedom, to be hung in his palace at Algiers. He, however, still clung to his American slaves, holding them at prices beyond the means of the agents. These prices, in 1786, were $6,000 for a master of a vessel, $4,000 for a mate, $4,000 for a passenger,

* Boston Independent Chronicle, April 28, 1785, Vol. XVII. No. 866; May 12, 1785, No. 868; Oct. 20, 1785, No. 886; Nov. 3, 1785, No. 888; Nov. 17, 1785, No. 890; March 2, 1786, Vol. XVIII. No. 908; April 27, 1786, No. 918.

† History of the War between the United States and Tripoli, p. 52.

and $ 1,400 for a seaman ; whereas the agent was authorized to offer only $ 200 for each captive.* In 1790, the tariff of prices seems to have fallen. Meanwhile, one had obtained his freedom through private means, some had escaped, and several had been liberated by death. The following list will furnish an idea of the sums demanded, and also the names of some of the captives : † —

Crew of the Ship Dolphin, of Philadelphia, captured July 30th, 1785.

	Sequins.
Richard O'Brien, master, price demanded,	2,000
Andrew Montgomery, mate,	1,500
Jacob Tessanier, French passenger,	2,000
William Patterson, seaman (keeps a tavern),	1,500
Philip Sloan, "	725
Peleg Loring, "	725
John Robertson, "	725
James Hall, "	725

Crew of the Schooner Maria, of Boston, captured July 25th, 1785.

Isaac Stevens, master (of Concord, Mass.),	2,000
Alexander Forsythe, mate,	1,500
James Cathcart, seaman (keeps a tavern),	900
George Smith, " (in the Dey's house),	725
John Gregory, "	725
James Hermit, "	725
	16,475
Duty on the above sum, ten per cent.,	1,647½
Sundry gratifications to officers of the Dey's household,	240⅓
Sequins	18,362⅚

This sum being equal to $ 34,792.

As the tidings reached America from time to time of the seizure of our vessels, and of the dismal fate of our white fellow-citizens, a voice of indignation swelled through the land against what were called "the infernal crews of Algerine corsairs."‡ This acquired

* Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 353.

† Ibid., p. 357 ; History of the War with Tripoli, p. 64.

‡ Boston Independent Chronicle, May 18, 1786, Vol. XVIII. No. 916. It seems that at one time there was an apprehension that Dr. Franklin had been captured. "We are waiting," says one of his French correspondents, "with the greatest impatience to hear from you. The newspapers have given us anxiety on your ac-

new force, when, by the fortunate escape of several captives, at two different periods, what seemed to be an authentic picture of their condition was presented to the world. It will be proper to give briefly the story of these fugitives, at once to show the hardships of their lot, and the foundation of the appeal to the country which was made with so much effect.

The earliest of these escapes was in 1788, by one of our countrymen who had been taken in a vessel belonging to Boston. After his arrival at Algiers, he was, with the rest of the ship's company, exposed for sale at public auction, whence he was sent to the country-house of his master, about two miles from town. Here he was chained to the wheelbarrow, and kept on one pound of bread a day, for the space of eighteen months, during which unhappy period he had no opportunity of learning the fate of his companions. On the 10th of December, 1787, he and another white slave were removed to a jail in Algiers, where, in a gang of four hundred white slaves, he encountered three of his shipmates, and twenty-six other Americans. After remaining for some time crowded together in the slave-prison, they were all distributed on board the different galleys in the service of the Dey. Our countryman and eighteen other white slaves were put on board a xebec, which carried eight six-pounders and sixty men. On the coast of Malta they were attacked by an armed vessel belonging to Genoa, which, after much bloodshed, took them, sword in hand. Eleven of the unfortunate slaves, compelled to this unwelcome service in the cause of a tyrannical master, were killed in the contest, before the triumph of the Genoese could deliver them from their chains. Our countryman and the few still alive were at once set at liberty, and, it is said, "treated with that humanity which distinguishes the Christian from the barbarian."*

His escape was followed the next year by that of several others, achieved under circumstances widely different. They had entered, about five years before, on board a vessel belonging to Philadelphia,

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count; for some of them insist that you have been taken by the Algerines, while others pretend that you are at Morocco, enduring your slavery with all the patience of a philosopher. These reports, luckily, have not been confirmed." — M. Le Veillard to Dr. Franklin, Passy, Oct. 9th, 1785, Sparks's Works of Franklin, Vol. X. p. 230.

* Boston Independent Chronicle, Oct. 16, 1778, Vol. XX. No. 1042; History of the War with Tripoli, p. 59.

which was captured near the Western Islands, and carried into Algiers. The crew, consisting of twenty persons, were doomed to bondage. Several were sent into the country and chained to work with the mules. Others were put on board a galley and chained to the oars. The latter, tempted, perhaps, by the facilities of their position near the sea, made several attempts to escape, which, however, for some time proved fruitless. But their love of freedom triumphed over the suggestions of humanity. They rose at last upon their overseers, some of whom they killed, and confined others, and then, seizing a small galley near their own, set sail for Gibraltar, where in a few hours they landed as freemen. It was thus that these fugitive slaves achieved their liberty by killing their keepers and carrying off their property.*

Such stories could not be recounted without producing a strong effect. The glimpses which were thus opened into the dread regions of slavery gave a harrowing reality to all that conjecture or imagination had pictured. It was, indeed, true, that our own white brethren, heirs to the freedom newly purchased by precious blood, partakers in the sovereignty of citizenship, belonging to the fellowship of the Christian church, were degraded in unquestioning obedience to an arbitrary taskmaster, sold as beasts of the field, and galled by the manacle and the lash! It was true that they were held at specified prices, and that their only chance of freedom was to be found in earnest, energetic efforts of their countrymen in their behalf. It appears that in 1793 there were one hundred and fifteen American captives in Algiers.† Their condition excited the fraternal feelings of the whole people, while it occupied the anxious attention of Congress and the prayers of the clergy. A petition from these unhappy persons, dated at Algiers, December 29th, 1793, was addressed to the House of Representatives.‡ "Your petitioners," it says, "are at present captives in this city of bondage, employed daily in the most laborious work, without any respect to persons. They pray that you will take their unfortunate situation into consideration, and adopt such measures as will restore the American captives to their country, their friends, families, and connections; and your petitioners will ever pray and be thankful."

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* History of the War with Tripoli, p. 62.

† Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 359.

‡ Ibid., p. 360.

But the action of Congress was sluggish, compared with the swift desires of the friends of the captives.

Appeals of a different character, addressed to the country at large, were now commenced. Colonel Humphreys, the friend and companion of Washington, and our minister at Portugal, most efficiently aided these, by a letter to the American people, which appeared in the newspapers of the time, dated Lisbon, July 11th, 1794. He suggested a grand lottery,* sanctioned by the United States, or particular lotteries in the individual States, in order to obtain the money required to purchase the freedom of our countrymen. He then says,—"I ask, is there within the limits of these United States an individual who will not cheerfully contribute in proportion to his means, to carry it into effect? By the peculiar blessings of freedom which you enjoy, by the disinterested sacrifices you made for its attainment, by the patriotic blood of those martyrs of liberty who died to secure your independence, and by all the tender ties of nature, let me conjure you once more to snatch your unfortunate countrymen from fetters, dungeons, and death."

This was followed shortly after by a petition from the American captives in Algiers, addressed to the ministers of the gospel of every denomination throughout the United States, praying their influence to help in the sacred cause of Emancipation. The cause in which it was written will indispose the reader to any criticism of its somewhat exuberant language. It begins by an allusion to the day of national thanksgiving which had been appointed by President Washington, and proceeds to ask the clergy to set apart the Sunday preceding that day for sermons, to be delivered contemporaneously throughout the country, in behalf of their brethren in bonds.†

"*Reverend and Respected*, —

"On Thursday, the 19th of February, 1795, you are enjoined by the president of the United States of America to appear in the various temples of that God who heareth the groaning of the prisoner, and in mercy remembereth those who are appointed to die.

"Nor are ye to assemble alone; for on this, the high day of continental thanksgiving, all the religious societies and denominations throughout the Union, and all persons whomsoever within the limits of the confeder-

* It should be observed, that at this time it was customary to resort to lotteries as a mode of raising money for literary or benevolent purposes. There were lotteries for the benefit of Harvard College.

† History of the War with Tripoli, pp. 69 – 71.

ated States, are to enter the courts of Jehovah, with their several pastors, and gratefully to render unfeigned thanks to the Ruler of nations for the manifold and signal mercies which distinguish your lot as a people ; — in a more particular manner, commemorating your exemption from foreign war; being greatly thankful for the preservation of peace at home and abroad ; and fervently beseeching the kind Author of all these blessings graciously to prolong them to you, and finally to render the United States of America more and more an asylum for the unfortunate of every clime under heaven.

" *Reverend and Respected*, —

" Most fervent are our daily prayers, breathed in the sincerity of woes unspeakable; most ardent are the embittered aspirations of our afflicted spirits, that thus it may be in deed and in truth. Although we are prisoners in a foreign land, although we are far, very far from our native homes, although our harps are hung upon the weeping willows of slavery, nevertheless America is still preferred above our chiefest joy, and the last wish of our departing souls shall be *her peace*, *her prosperity*, *her liberty for ever*. On this day, the day of festivity and gladness, remember us, your unfortunate brethren, late members of the family of freedom, now doomed to perpetual confinement. *Pray*, *earnestly pray*, *that our grievous calamities may have a gracious end. Supplicate the Father of mercies for the most wretched of his offspring. Beseech the God of all consolation to comfort us by the hope of final restoration. Implore the Jesus whom you worship to open the house of the prison. Entreat the Christ whom you adore to let the miserable captives go free.*

" *Reverend and Respected*, —

" It is not your prayers alone, although of much avail, which we beg on the bending knee of sufferance, galled by the corroding fetters of slavery. We conjure you by the bowels of the mercies of the Almighty, we ask you in the name of your Father in Heaven, to have compassion on our miseries, to wipe away the crystallized tears of despondence, to hush the heartfelt sigh of distress; *and by every possible exertion of godlike charity*, *to restore us to our wives*, *to our children*, *to our friends*, *to our God and to yours.*

" Is it possible that a stimulus can be wanting? Forbid it, the example of a dying, bleeding, crucified Saviour! Forbid it, the precepts of a risen, ascended, glorified Immanuel! *Do unto us in fetters*, *in bonds*, *in dungeons*, *in danger of the pestilence*, *as ye yourselves would wish to be done unto. Lift up your voices like a trumpet ; cry aloud in the cause of humanity*, *benevolence*, *philosophy ; eloquence can never be directed to a nobler purpose ; religion never employed in a more glorious*

cause ; charity never meditate a more exalted flight. O that a live coal from the burning altar of celestial beneficence might warm the hearts of the sacred order, and impassion the feelings of the attentive hearer !

Gentlemen of the Clergy in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, —

" Your most zealous exertions, your unremitting assiduities, are pathetically invoked. Those States in which you minister unto the Church of God gave us birth. We are as aliens from the commonwealth of America. We are strangers to the temples of our God. The strong arm of infidelity hath bound us with two chains ; the iron one of slavery and the sword of death are entering our very souls. *Arise, ye ministers of the Most High, Christians of every denomination, awake unto charity ! Let a brief, setting forth our hapless situation, be published throughout the continent. Be it read in every house of worship, on Sunday, the 8th of February. Command a preparatory discourse to be delivered on Sunday, the 15th of February, in all churches whithersoever this petition or the brief may come ; and on Thursday, the 19th of February, complete the godlike work.* It is a day which assembles a continent to thanksgiving. It is a day which calls an empire to praise. God grant that this may be the day which emancipates the forlorn captive, and may the best blessings of those who are ready to perish be your abiding portion for ever ! Thus prays a small remnant who are still alive ; thus pray your fellow-citizens, chained to the galleys of the impostor Mahomet.

" Signed for and in behalf of his fellow-sufferers, by

" RICHARD O'BRIEN,

" In the tenth year of his captivity."

Not long after this address there appeared in New Hampshire a publication, entitled, " Tyrannical Libertymen, a Discourse upon Negro Slavery in the United States, composed at ——— in New Hampshire, on the late Federal Thanksgiving Day,"* which, while advocating the cause of the unhappy black slaves in the United States, refers pointedly to the condition of our unfortunate white fellow-countrymen in bonds. " There was a contribution upon this day," it says, " for the purpose of redeeming those Americans who are in slavery at Algiers, — an object worthy of a generous people. Their redemption, we hope, is not far distant. But should any person contribute money for this purpose, which he had cudgelled out of a negro slave, he would deserve less applause than an actor in the comedy of Las Casas. . . . . When will Ameri-

* From the Eagle Office, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1795.

cans show that they are what they affect to be thought, — friends to the cause of humanity at large, reverers of the rights of their fellow-creatures ? Hitherto we have been oppressors ; nay, murderers ! for many a negro has died by the whip of his master, and many have lived when death would have been preferable. Surely, the curse of God and the reproach of man is against us. Worse than the seven plagues of Egypt will befall us. If Algiers shall be punished sevenfold, truly America seventy and sevenfold."

The excitement of this discussion called forth a work of some note, entitled, "The Algerine Captive," which was one of the earliest productions of our country reprinted in London, at a time when few American books were read there. It was published anonymously, but is known to have been written by a gentleman afterwards Chief Justice of Vermont, Royall Tyler. In the form of a narrative of personal adventures, extending through two volumes, as a slave in Algiers, the author depicts the horrors of this condition. In this regard it is not unlike a work entitled "Archy Moore," of our own day, wherein are displayed the horrors of American slavery. The author is taken captive by the Algerines while engaged as surgeon on board a ship employed in the African slave-trade. After describing the reception of the poor negroes, he says : — "I cannot reflect on this transaction yet, without shuddering. I have deplored my conduct with tears of anguish ; and I pray a merciful God, the common Parent of the great family of the universe, who hath made of one flesh and one blood all nations of the earth, that the miseries, the insults, and cruel woundings I afterwards received, when a slave myself, may expiate for the inhumanity I was necessitated to exercise towards these my brethren of the human race." (Chap. 30.) And when he is at length made captive himself by the Algerines, he records his meditations and resolves. "Grant me," he says, from the depths of his own misfortune, "once more to taste the freedom of my native country, and every moment of my life shall be dedicated to preaching against this detestable commerce. I will fly to our fellow-citizens in the Southern States ; I will, on my knees, conjure them, in the name of humanity, to abolish a traffic which causes it to bleed in every pore. If they are deaf to the pleadings of nature, I will conjure them, for the sake of consistency, to cease to deprive their fellow-creatures of freedom, which their writers, their orators, representatives, senators,

and even their constitutions of government, have declared to be the unalienable birthright of man." (Chap. 32.)*

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* The comparison between Algerine and American slavery seems to have been not uncommon at this time. Dr. Franklin's ingenious apologue presents it in a strong light. As president of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, he had signed a memorial, which was presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, February 12th, 1789, praying them "to go to the *very verge* of the power vested in them to discourage every species of traffic in our fellow-men." This was his last public act. In the debates to which this gave rise, several attempts were made to justify slavery and the slave-trade. The last and almost dying energies of Franklin were excited. He published in one of the papers at the time an essay, purporting to contain a speech delivered in the Divan of Algiers in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect, called *Erika*, or Puŕists, or Abolitionists, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended Algerine speech was a parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson of Georgia. All the arguments adduced in favor of negro slavery are applied with equal force to justify the plundering and enslaving of whites. This remarkable paper is dated only twenty-four days before the author's death. — Sparks's Franklin, Vol. II. p. 517.

The address from the same Abolition Society to the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, in 1787, contains the same parallel. "Providence," it says, "seems to have ordained the sufferings of our American brethren, groaning in captivity at Algiers, to awaken us to a sentiment of the injustice and cruelty of which we are guilty towards the wretched Africans." — Brissot's Travels, Vol. I. Letter 22.

On still another important occasion the same parallel was recognized. It seems that complaint was made against England of carrying away from New York certain negroes, in alleged violation of the treaty of 1783. In discussing this matter in an elaborate paper preserved in the Secret Journals of Congress, John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs under the Confederation, says: — "Whether men can be so degraded as under any circumstances to be with propriety denominated *goods and chattels,* and under that idea capable of becoming *booty*, is a question on which opinions are unfortunately various, even in countries professing Christianity and respect for the rights of mankind." He then says: — "If a war should take place between France and Algiers, and in the course of it France should invite the American slaves there to run away from their masters, and actually receive and protect them in their camp, what would Congress, and indeed the world, think and say of France, if, in making peace with Algiers, she should give up those American slaves to their former Algerine masters? *Is there any difference between the two cases than this*, viz., *that the American slaves at Algiers are* WHITE *people*, *whereas the African slaves at New York were* BLACK *people?*" In introducing these remarks, the Secretary says, "he is aware he is about to say unpopular things; but higher motives than personal considerations press him to proceed." — Secret Journals of Congress, 1786, Vol. IV. pp. 274–280.

And still another writer, in 1794, when the sympathy with the American captives was at its height, presses the parallel in pungent terms: — "For this practice of buying and selling slaves," he says, "we are not entitled to charge the Algerines with any exclusive degree of barbarity. The Christians of Europe and America carry on this commerce one hundred times more extensively than the Algerines. It has received a recent sanction from the immaculate Divan of Britain. Nobody seems even to be surprised by a diabolical kind of advertisements, which, for some

The country was now aroused. A general contribution was proposed for the emancipation of our brethren. Their cause was pleaded in churches, and not forgotten at the festive board. At all public celebrations, the toasts, "Happiness for all," and "Universal liberty," were proposed, not less in sympathy with the efforts for freedom in France, than with those for our own wretched white fellow-countrymen in bonds. On at least one occasion,* they were distinctly remembered in the following toast: — "Our brethren in slavery at Algiers. May the measures adopted for their redemption be successful, and may they live to rejoice with their friends in the blessings of liberty."

Meanwhile, the earnest efforts of our government had been continued. In his message to Congress, bearing date December 8th, 1795, President Washington had said: — "With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing that the terms of a treaty with the Dey and regency of that country have been adjusted in such a manner as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens from a grievous captivity." This, indeed, had already been effected, on the 5th of September, 1795.† It was a treaty full of humiliation for the *chivalry* of our country, inasmuch as it stipulated for an annual tribute of twenty-one thousand dollars to the Algerine government, while it exacted a large sum in consideration of present peace and the liberation of the captives. But feelings of pride disappeared in heartfelt satisfaction at their freedom. It is recorded, that a thrill of joy went through the land when it was announced that a vessel had left Algiers having on board all the Americans who had been in captivity there. Their

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months past, have frequently adorned the newspapers of Philadelphia. The French fugitives from the West Indies have brought with them a crowd of slaves. These most injured people sometimes run off, and their master advertises a reward for apprehending them. At the same time, we are commonly informed that his sacred name is marked in capitals on their breasts; or, in plainer terms, it is stamped on that part of the body with a red-hot iron. Before, therefore, we reprobate the ferocity of the Algerines, we should inquire whether it is not possible to find in some other region of this globe a systematic brutality still more disgraceful." — Short Account of Algiers (Philadelphia, 1794), p. 18.

* At Portsmouth, N. H., at a public festive entertainment, April 3d, 1795, in honor of French successes. Boston Independent Chronicle, Vol. XXVII. No. 1469.

† United States Statutes at Large (Little and Brown's edit.), Treaties, Vol. VIII. p. 133; Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 362.

emancipation was purchased at the cost of upwards of seven hundred thousand dollars. But the money, and even the indignity of tribute, were forgotten in gratulations on their new-found happiness; while the President, in a message to Congress,* presented their "actual liberation" as a special subject of joy "to every feeling heart." Thus did our government construct a Bridge of Gold for freedom.

This act of national generosity was followed by peace with Tripoli, which was purchased, November 4th, 1796, for the sum of fifty thousand dollars, under the guaranty of the Dey of Algiers, who was declared to be "the mutual friend of the parties"; while, by an article in the treaty, negotiated by Joel Barlow, — out of tenderness, perhaps, to Mahometanism, and to save our citizens from the slavery which was regarded as the just doom of "Christian dogs," — it was expressly declared that "the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion."† At a later day, all danger to our citizens seemed to be averted by a treaty with Tunis, which was purchased after some delay, but at a smaller price than that with Tripoli. In this treaty it was ignominiously provided, that fugitive slaves, taking refuge on board American merchant-vessels, and even vessels of war, should be restored to their owners.‡

As early as 1787, a treaty of a more liberal character had been entered into with Morocco, which was confirmed in 1795,§ at the price of twenty thousand dollars; while, by a treaty with Spain, in 1799, this slave-trading empire *expressly declared its desire that the name of slavery might be effaced from the memory of man.*‖

But these governments were barbarous, faithless, and regardless of the duties of humanity and justice. Treaties with them were evanescent. As in the days of Charles the Second, they seemed made merely to be broken. They were observed only so long as money was derived under their stipulations. The Barbary corsairs did not leave the American commerce for a long time unvexed, while even the ships

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* December 7th, 1796.

† Article 11; Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. pp. 380, 381; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. VIII. p. 154.

‡ Article 6; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. VIII. p. 157. This treaty has two dates, August, 1797, and March, 1799. William Eaton and James Leander Cathcart were the agents of the United States at the latter date.

§ Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 350; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. VIII. p. 100.

‖ History of the War with Tripoli, p. 80.

of our navy were subject to peculiar indignities. In 1801, the Bey of Tripoli formally declared war against the United States, and in token thereof "our flag-staff [before the consulate] was chopped down six feet from the ground, and left reclining on the terrace." * Our ships and sailors once more became the prey of man-stealers. Colonel Humphreys was again aroused. In an address to the public, he said, † — "Americans of the United States, your fellow-citizens are in fetters! Can there be but one feeling? Where are the gallant remains of the race who fought for freedom? Where the glorious heirs of their patriotism? *Will there never be a truce between political parties? Or must it for ever be the fate of* FREE STATES, *that the soft voice of union should be drowned in the hoarse clamor of discord?* No! Let every friend of blessed humanity and sacred freedom entertain a better hope and confidence." The people and government responded to this voice. And here commenced those early efforts of our navy by which it became known in Europe. By a daring act, Decatur burnt the frigate Philadelphia, which, through a reverse of shipwreck rather than war, had

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* Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 384.

† Miscellaneous Works of David Humphreys, p. 75. He also appealed to his country in a poem (Ibid., pp. 52, 53), which contains an indignant condemnation of slavery.

"Teach me curst slavery's cruel woes to paint,
Beneath whose weight our captured freemen faint!
. . . . .
Where am I? Heavens! what mean these dolorous cries?
And what these horrid scenes that round me rise?
Heard ye the groans, those messengers of pain?
Heard ye the clanking of the captive's chain?
Heard ye your freeborn sons their fate deplore,
Pale in their chains and laboring at the oar?
Saw ye the dungeon, in whose blackest cell,
That house of woe, your friends, your children, dwell? —
Or saw ye those who dread the torturing hour,
Crushed by the rigors of a tyrant's power?
Saw ye the shrinking slave, the uplifted lash,
The frowning butcher, and the reddening gash?
Saw ye the fresh blood where it bubbling broke
From purple scars, beneath the grinding stroke?
Saw ye the naked limbs writhed to and fro,
In wild contortions of convulsing woe?
Felt ye the blood, with pangs alternate rolled,
Thrill through your veins and freeze with deathlike cold,
Or fire, as down the tear of pity stole,
Your manly breasts, and harrow up the soul?"

fallen into the hands of the Tripolitans. Other deeds of hardihood ensued. A romantic expedition under General Eaton, from Alexandria, in Egypt, across the desert of Libya, captured Derne. Tripoli was attacked three several times, and, at last, on the 3d of June, 1805, entered into a treaty, by which it was stipulated that the United States should pay sixty thousand dollars for the freedom of two hundred Americans detained as captives ; and that, in the event of future war between the two countries, the prisoners captured by either party should not be made slaves, but should be exchanged, rank for rank ; and if there should be any deficiency on either side, that it should be made up by the payment of five hundred Spanish dollars for each captain, three hundred dollars for each mate and supercargo, and one hundred dollars for each seaman.* Thus did our country, after successes not without what is called the glory of arms, again purchase by money the emancipation of her white citizens.

The power of Tripoli was, however, inconsiderable. That of Algiers was more formidable. It is not a little curious, that the largest ship of this slave-trading state was the Crescent, of thirty-four guns, built in New Hampshire ;† *though it is hardly to the credit of our sister State that the Algerine power should have derived such important support from her.* The lawlessness of the corsair again broke forth in 1812, by the seizure of the brig Edwin of Salem, which was carried into Algiers and her crew reduced to slavery. All the energies of our country were then enlisted in the war with Great Britain ; but even amidst the anxieties of this gigantic contest the voice of these captives was heard, awakening a corresponding sentiment in the country, until the government was prompted to seek their release by an unofficial offer of three thousand dollars a head.‡ The answer of the Dey, repeated on several occasions, was, that "not for two millions of dollars would he sell his American slaves." § The timely treaty of Ghent, in 1815, establishing peace with Great Britain, left us at liberty to deal with this enslaver of our countrymen. A naval force was promptly despatched to the Mediterranean,

* United States Statutes at Large, Vol. VIII. p. 214 ; Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 388.

† History of the War between the United States and Tripoli, p. 88.

‡ Noah's Travels, p. 69. It was through Mr. Noah, who had been appointed consul at Tunis, that this offer was made.

§ Noah's Travels, p. 144 ; National Intelligencer of March 7, 1815.

under Commodore Bainbridge and Commodore Decatur. The rapidity of their movements and their striking success had the desired effect. In June, 1815, a treaty was extorted from the Dey of Algiers, by which, after abandoning all claim to tribute in any form, he delivered his American captives, ten in number, without any ransom; and stipulated, that hereafter no Americans should be made slaves or forced to hard labor, and, still further, that "any Christians whatever, captives in Algiers," who should make their escape and take refuge on board any of our ships of war, should not be required back again.*

It is related of Decatur, that he walked his deck with impatient earnestness, awaiting the promised signature of the treaty. "Is the treaty signed?" he cried to the captain of the port and the Swedish consul, as they reached the Guerriere with a white flag of truce. "It is," replied the Swede; and the treaty was placed in Decatur's hands. "Are the prisoners in the boat?" "They are." "Every one of them?" "Every one, Sir." The captive Americans now came forward to greet and bless their deliverer.† It was, undoubtedly, one of the sweetest moments in the life of this hardy son of the sea, when he procured freedom for these countrymen, and contributed so powerfully to overthrow the system of slavery under which they had groaned. But should I not say, even here, that there is now a citizen of Massachusetts, who, without army or navy, by a simple act of self-renunciation, has given freedom to a larger number of Christian American slaves than was done by the sword of Decatur?‡

Thus, not by money, but by arms, was emancipation this time secured for American captives. The country was grateful for the result; though the poor freedmen, engulfed in the unknown wastes of ocean, on their glad passage home, were never able to

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* United States Statutes at Large, Vol. VIII. p. 224; Lyman's Diplomacy, Vol. II. p. 376.

† Mackenzie's Life of Decatur, p. 268.

‡ Hon. John Gorham Palfrey, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, received twenty-two slaves by inheritance, on the death of his father, in October, 1843. They were on a plantation in Louisiana. He lost no time in taking the necessary steps for their manumission. His petition to the legislature of Louisiana, for permission to set them free within the State, was laid on the table by a unanimous vote. Against many impediments, and at considerable cost, he persevered in his determination, and, by a personal visit to the State, speeded the act. Eighteen fellow-men, who had been slaves, have been established by his beneficence in Massachusetts and New York. Four others have been allowed to remain, as freemen, in Louisiana.

mingle joys with their fellow-citizens.* Nor did the country feel the melancholy mockery of the conduct of the government, which, having weakly declared that it "was not in any sense founded on the Christian religion,"† now expressly confined the protecting power of its flag to fugitive "Christians, captives in Algiers,"‡ leaving slaves of another faith to be snatched as between the horns of the altar, and returned to the continued horrors of their lot.

The success of the American arms was speedily followed by a more signal triumph of Great Britain, acting generously in behalf of all the Christian powers. Her expedition was debated, perhaps prompted, in the Congress of Vienna, where were assembled, after the overthrow of Napoleon, the brilliant representatives of the different states of Europe, in the presence of the monarchs of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to consider the evils proper to be remedied by joint action, and to adjust the disordered balance of empire. And here, among other high matters of discussion, was entertained the project of a crusade against the Barbary States, in order to accomplish the complete abolition of Christian slavery there practised. It was proposed to form "a holy league" for this purpose. This was earnestly enforced by a memoir from Sir Sidney Smith, — the British officer who foiled Napoleon at Acre, — who was president of an association called the "Knights Liberators of the *White* Slaves in Africa," — in our day it might be called an Abolition Society, — thus adding to the doubtful laurels of war the true glory of striving for the freedom of his fellow-men. §

This project awakened a generous echo in the public mind. Various advocates appeared in its behalf; and it was especially urged upon Great Britain, by the agents of Spain and Portugal, who insisted, that, *because* this nation had abolished the negro slave-trade, it was her *duty* to put an end to the slavery of the *whites*. ‖

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* They were lost in the Epervier, which went down at sea, no trace of her ever appearing.

† *Ante*, p. 41.

‡ *Ante*, p. 44.

§ Mémoire sur la Nécessité et les Moyens de faire cesser les Pirateries des Etats Barbaresques. Reçu, considéré, et adopté à Paris en Septembre, à Turin le 14 Octobre, 1814, à Vienne durant le Congrès. Par M. Sidney Smith. See Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 140, where this is noticed. Schoell, *Histoire des Traités de Paix*, Tome XI. p. 402.

‖ Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXVI. p. 451; Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 302; Mackenzie's Life of Decatur, p. 263.

A disgraceful impediment seemed to interfere with it. There was a common belief that the obstructions to the navigation of the Mediterranean, created by the Barbary States, were advantageous to British commerce, by thwarting and strangling that of other countries ; and that therefore Great Britain, ever anxious for commercial supremacy, would not seek their overthrow, but would rather encourage them, — the love of trade prevailing over the love of man.* This suggestion of a sordid selfishness, which was willing to coin money out of the lives and liberties of fellow-Christians, was soon answered.

Lord Exmouth, who had already acquired distinction in the British navy as Sir Edward Pellew, was despatched with a squadron to Algiers at the beginning of the year 1816. By his general orders to his fleet, bearing date, Boyne, Port Mahon, March 21, 1816, he announced the object of his expedition as follows : —

" He has been instructed and directed by his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, to proceed with the fleet to Algiers, and *there make certain arrangements for diminishing, at least*, the piratical excursions of the Barbary States, *by which thousands of our fellow-creatures, innocently following their commercial pursuits, have been dragged into the most wretched and revolting state of slavery.*

" The commander-in-chief is confident that this outrageous system of piracy and slavery rouses in common the same spirit of indignation which he himself feels ; and should the government of Algiers refuse the reasonable demands he bears from the Prince Regent, he doubts not but the flag will be honorably and zealously supported by every officer and man under his command, in his endeavours to procure the acceptation of them by force ; and if force must be resorted to, we have the consolation of knowing that we fight in the sacred cause of humanity, and cannot fail of success." †

The moderate object of his mission was readily obtained. " Arrangements for diminishing the piratical excursions of the Barbary States " were established. Certain Ionian slaves, claimed as British subjects, were released, and peace was secured for Naples and Sardinia, — the former paying a ransom of five hundred dollars, the

* Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 145 ; Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXVI. p. 449, where there is a review of a publication entitled " A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Slavery of the Christians at Algiers. By Walter Croker, Esq., of the Royal Navy. London, 1816." Schoell, *Traités de Paix*, Tom. XI. p. 402.

† Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 297.

latter of three hundred dollars, a head, for their subjects liberated from bondage. This was at Algiers. Lord Exmouth next proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, where, acting beyond his instructions, he obtained from both of these governments a promise to abolish Christian slavery within their dominions. In one of his letters on this event, he says, that, in pressing these governments, he "acted solely on his own responsibility and without orders ; the causes and reasoning on which, upon general principles, may be defensible ; but, as applying to our own country, may not be borne out, *the old mercantile interest being against it.*" * Thus did commerce, the daughter of freedom, fall under the foul suspicion of disloyalty to her parent !

Lord Exmouth did not do justice to the moral sense of his country. His conduct was sustained and applauded, not only in the House of Commons, but by the public at large. He was soon directed to return to Algiers, — which had failed to make any general renunciation of the custom of enslaving Christians, — to extort by force such a stipulation. This expedition is regarded by British historians with peculiar pride. There is none in the annals of their navy, in which the barbarism of war seems so much "to smooth its wrinkled front." With a fleet complete at all points, the admiral set sail, the 25th of July, 1816, on what was deemed a holy war. On the 27th of August, he anchored before the formidable fortifications of Algiers, with five line-of-battle ships, five heavy frigates, four bomb-vessels, and five gun-brigs, besides a Dutch fleet of five frigates and a corvette, under Admiral Van de Capellan, who, on learning the object of the expedition, solicited and obtained leave to coöperate. It would not be agreeable or instructive to dwell on the scene of desolation and blood which ensued. The fleet before night fired nearly one hundred and eighteen tons of powder, and fifty thousand shot, weighing more than five hundred tons, besides shells and rockets. The citadel and massive batteries of Algiers were shattered and crumbled to ruins. The store-houses, ships, and gunboats were in flames, while the blazing lightnings of battle were answered by those of heaven in a storm of signal fury. The power of the Great Slave-dealer was humbled.

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* Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 303. It is not a little singular, that Admiral Blake, in the time of Cromwell, had similar anxieties on account of his attack upon Tunis. In his despatch to Secretary Thurloe, he says, — "And now, seeing it hath pleased God soe signally to justify us herein, I hope his highnes will not be offended at it, nor any who regard duly the honor of our nation, *although I expect to have the clamors of interested men.*" Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 390.

The terms of submission were announced by the admiral to his fleet in an order, dated, Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 30th, 1816, which may be read with a truer pleasure, perhaps, than any in military or naval history.

"The commander-in-chief," he said, "is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace, confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent of England.

"*First.* THE ABOLITION OF CHRISTIAN SLAVERY FOR EVER.

"*Second.* The delivery to my flag of all slaves in the dominions of the Dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

"*Third.* To deliver also to my flag all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year, at noon also to-morrow."

On the next day, twelve hundred slaves were embarked, making, with those liberated in his earlier expedition, more than three thousand, whom, by address or force, Lord Exmouth had delivered from slavery.*

Thus ended White Slavery in the Barbary States. It had already died out in Morocco. It had been quietly renounced by Tripoli and Tunis. Its last retreat was Algiers, whence it was driven amidst the thunder of the British cannon.

Signal honors now awaited the Admiral. He was elevated to a new rank in the peerage, and on his coat-of-arms was emblazoned a figure never before known in heraldry, — *a Christian slave holding aloft the cross and dropping his broken fetters.*† From the officers of the squadron he received a costly service of plate, with an inscription, in testimony of "the memorable victory gained at Algiers, *where the great cause of Christian freedom was bravely fought and nobly accomplished.*" ‡ But higher far than honor were the rich personal satisfactions which he derived from contemplating the nature of the cause in which he had been enlisted. In his despatch to the government, describing the battle, and written at the time, he says, in words which may be felt by others engaged, like him, in efforts for the overthrow of slavery: — "In all the vicissitudes of a long

* Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 334; British Annual Register (1816), Vol. LVIII. pp. 97–106; Shaler's Sketches, pp. 279–294.

† Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 340.

‡ Ibid., p. 342.

life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude as the event of yesterday. *To have been one of the humble instruments in the hands of Divine Providence for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it.*" *

The reverses of Algiers did not end here. Christian slavery was abolished ; but, in 1830, the insolence of this barbarian government aroused the vengeance of France to take military possession of the whole country. Algiers capitulated, and the Dey abdicated ; and this considerable state has now become a French colony.

Thus I have endeavoured to present what I could glean in various fields on the *history* of Christian Slavery in the Barbary States. I have often employed the words of others, as they seemed best calculated to convey the exact idea of the scene, incident, or sentiment which I wished to preserve. In doing so, I have occupied much time ; but I may find my apology in the words of an English chronicler.† "Algier," he says, "were altogether unworthy so long a discourse, *were not the unworthinesse worthy our consideration.* I meane the cruell abuse of the Christian name, which let us for inciting our zeale and exciting our charitie and thankfulness more deeply weigh, to releeve those in miseries, as we may, with our paynes, prayers, purses, and all the best meditations."

III. It is by a natural transition that I am now conducted to the inquiry into the *true character* of the evil whose history has been traced. And here I shall be brief.

The slavery of Christians by the Barbary States is regarded as an unquestioned outrage upon humanity and justice. Our liveliest sympathies attend these white brethren, — torn from their homes, the ties of family and friendship rudely severed, parent separated from child and husband from wife, exposed at public sale like cattle, and, like cattle, dependent upon the uncertain will of an arbitrary taskmaster. We read of a "gentleman" who was compelled to be

* Osler's Life of Exmouth, p. 432 ; Shaler's Sketches of Algiers, p. 282.

† Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. II. p. 1565.

the valet of the barbarian emperor of Morocco ;* and Calderon, who has sometimes been called the Shakspeare of the Spanish stage, has depicted, in one of his most remarkable plays, the miserable fate of a Portuguese prince, condemned by infidel Moors to carry water in a garden. † But the lowly in condition had their unrecorded sorrows also, whose sum total must swell to a fearful amount. Who can tell how many hearts have been wrung by the pangs of separation, how many crushed by the comfortless despair of interminable bondage? "Speaking as a Christian," says the good Catholic father who has chronicled much of this misery, "if on the earth there can be any condition which, in its character and evils, may represent in any manner the dolorous Passion of the Son of God (which exceeded all evils and torments, because by it the Lord suffered every kind of evil and affliction), it is, beyond question and doubt, none other than slavery and captivity in Algiers and Barbary, whose infinite evils, terrible torments, miseries without number, afflictions without mitigation, it is impossible to comprehend in a brief span of time." ‡

And here again we may refer to Cervantes, whose pen was dipped in his own dark experience. In his Life in Algiers,§ he has displayed the horrors of the white slave-market. The public crier exposes for sale a father and mother and their two children. They are to be sold separately, or, according to the language of our day, "in lots to suit purchasers." The father is resigned, confiding in God ; the mother sobs ; while the children, ignorant of the inhu-

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* Braithwaite's Revolutions of Morocco, p. 233 ; Noah's Travels, p. 367.

† *El Principe Constante.*

‡ Haedo, *Historia*, pp. 139, 140. When we consider the author's character as a father of the Catholic Church, it will be felt that language can no further go. His History of Algiers, which was published in 1612, contains two copious Dialogues; the first on Captivity (*de la Captiudad*), and the second on the Martyrs of Algiers (*de los Martyres de Argel*). Besides embodying authentic sketches of the sufferings in Algiers, they form a mine of classical and patristic learning on the origin and character of slavery, and also of arguments against it, which could not fail to be explored with profit by those who are interested in this subject in our day. In view of this gigantic evil, the good father says, — "Where is charity? Where is the love of God? Where is zeal for his glory? Where is desire for his service? Where is human pity and the compassion of man for man? Certainly, to redeem a captive, to liberate him from wretched slavery, is the highest work of charity of all that can be done in this world." — pp. 140, 141. Besides the illustrations of the hardships of White Slavery which have already been introduced, I refer briefly to the following: — Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXVI. pp. 452-454; Croker's Letter, pp. 11-13; Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 145; Eaton's Life, p. 100; Noah's Travels, p. 366.

§ *Trato de Argel.*

manity of men, show an instinctive trust in the constant and wakeful protection of their parents, — now, alas! impotent to shield them from dire calamity. A merchant, inclining to purchase one of the "little ones," causes him to open his mouth, in order to see whether he is in good condition. The child, still ignorant of the destiny which awaits him, imagines that the purchaser is about to extract a tooth, and, assuring him that it does not ache, begs him not to pull it out. The merchant, who is in other respects a very worthy man, pays one hundred and thirty dollars for the youngest child, and the sale is completed. Thus a human being — one of those children of whom it has been said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven" — is profanely treated as an article of merchandise, and torn from a mother's arms and a father's support. The hardening influence of custom has steeled the merchant into insensibility to this violation of humanity and justice, this laceration of sacred ties, this degradation of the image of God. The unconscious heartlessness of the slave-dealer, and the anguish of his victims, are depicted in the dialogue which ensues after the sale.*

"MERCHANT. Come hither, child, 't is time to go to rest.
JUAN. *Signor, I will not leave my mother here,*
To go with any one.
MOTHER. *Alas! my child, thou art no longer mine,*
But his who bought thee.
JUAN. *What! then, have you, mother,*
Forsaken me?
MOTHER. *O Heavens! how cruel are ye!*
MERCHANT. *Come, hasten, boy.*
JUAN. Will you go with me, brother?
FRANCISCO. I cannot, Juan, 't is not in my power; —
May Heaven protect you, Juan!
MOTHER. O my child,
My joy and my delight, God won't forget thee!
JUAN. O father! mother! whither will they bear me
Away from you?

* This translation is borrowed from Sismondi's View of the Literature of the South of Europe, by Roscoe, Vol. III. p. 381. There is a letter of "John Dunton, Mariner," in 1637, addressed to the English Admiralty, which might furnish the foundation of a similar scene. "For my only son," he says, "is now a slave in Algier, and but ten years of age, and like to be lost for ever, without God's great mercy and the king's clemency, which, I hope, may be in some manner obtained." — Osborne's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 492.

MOTHER. Permit me, worthy Signor,
To speak a moment in my infant's ear.
Grant me this small contentment; very soon
I shall know naught but grief.
MERCHANT. What you would say,
Say now; to-night is the last time.
MOTHER. To-night
Is the first time my heart e'er felt such grief.
JUAN. *Pray keep me with you, mother, for I know not*
Whither he 'd carry me.
MOTHER. *Alas, poor child!*
Fortune forsook thee even at thy birth.
The heavens are overcast, the elements
Are turbid, and the very sea and winds
Are all combined against me. *Thou, my child,*
Know'st not the dark misfortunes into which
Thou art so early plunged, but happily
Lackest the power to comprehend thy fate.
What I would crave of thee, my life, since I
Must never more be blessed with seeing thee,
Is that thou never, never wilt forget
To say, as thou wert wont, thy *Ave Mary;*
For that bright queen of goodness, grace, and virtue
Can loosen all thy bonds and give thee freedom.
AYDAR. Behold the wicked Christian, how she counsels
Her innocent child! You wish, then, that your child
Should, like yourself, continue still in error.
JUAN. *O mother, mother, may I not remain?*
And must these Moors, then, carry me away?
MOTHER. *With thee, my child, they rob me of my treasures.*
JUAN. O, I am much afraid!
MOTHER. 'T is I, my child,
Who ought to fear at seeing thee depart.
Thou wilt forget thy God, me, and thyself.
What else can I expect from thee, abandoned
At such a tender age, amongst a people
Full of deceit and all iniquity?
CRIER. *Silence, you villanous woman! if you would not*
Have your head pay for what your tongue has done."

From this scene we gladly avert our countenance, while, from the bottom of our hearts, we send our sympathies to the poor sufferers. We fain would avert their fate; we fain would destroy the system of

slavery, which has made them wretched and their masters cruel. And yet we would not judge with harshness an Algerine slave-owner. He has been reared in a religion of slavery, — he has learned to regard Christians, "guilty of a skin not colored as his own," as lawful prey, — and has found sanctions for his conduct in the injunctions of the Koran, in the custom of his country, and in the instinctive dictates of an imagined self-interest. It is, then, the "peculiar institution" which we are aroused to execrate, rather than the Algerine slave-masters, who glory in its influence, and,

> "so perfect is their misery,
> Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
> But boast themselves more comely than before."

But there is reason to believe that the sufferings of the white slaves were not often greater than is the natural incident of slavery. There is an important authority which presents this point in an interesting light. It is that of General Eaton, who was for some time consul of the United States at Tunis, and whose name is not without interest from the bold expedition against Derne. In a letter to his wife, dated at Tunis, April 6th, 1799, and written amidst opportunities of observation such as few have enjoyed, he briefly describes the condition of this unhappy class, illustrating it by a comparison less flattering to our country than to Barbary. "Many of the Christian slaves," he says, "have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas! remorse seizes my whole soul, when I reflect that this is, indeed, a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of liberty and national justice. How frequently have I seen in the Southern States of our own country weeping mothers leading guiltless infants to the sales with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter, and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions upon defenceless humanity! But when I see the same enormities practised upon beings whose complexion and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetrators and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. *Indeed, truth and justice demand from me the confession, that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among the professing Christians of civilized America;* and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery." *

* Eaton's Life, p. 145. The same judgment was passed by John Wesley as early as

Such testimony would seem to furnish a standard or measure of comparison by which to determine the character of White Slavery in the Barbary States. But there are other considerations and authorities. One of these is the influence of the religion of these barbarians. Travellers remark the generally kind treatment bestowed by Mahometans upon slaves.* The lash rarely, if ever, lacerates the back of the female ; the knife or branding-iron is not employed upon any human being to mark him as the property of his fellow-man. Nor is the slave doomed, as in other countries, where the Christian religion is professed, to unconditional and perpetual service, without prospect of *redemption*. Hope, the last friend of misfortune, may brighten his captivity. He is not walled up by inhuman institutions so as to be inaccessible to freedom. "And unto such of your slaves," says the Koran, in words worthy of adoption in the legislation of Christian countries, "as desire a written instrument, allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum, write one, if ye know good in them, and give them of the riches of God, which he hath given you." † Thus from the Koran, which ordains slavery, come lessons of benignity to the slave ; and one of the most touching stories in Mahometanism is of the generosity of Ali, the companion of the Prophet, who, after fasting for three days, gave his whole provision to a captive not more famished than himself.‡

Such precepts and examples doubtless had their influence in Algiers. It is evident, from the history of the country, that the prejudice of race did not so far prevail as to impress upon the slaves

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1772. Addressing those engaged in the negro slave-trade, he said, — "You have carried the survivors into the vilest slavery, never to end but with life, — *such slavery as is not found among the Turks at Algiers*, no, nor among the heathens in America." — Thoughts on Slavery (1772), p. 24.

* Wilson's Travels, p. 93; Edinburgh Review, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 403; Noah's Travels, p. 302; Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 168; Shaler's Sketches of Algiers, p. 77. It was a remark of Wilberforce, that the slave-trade had been able to reverse the ordinary effects of Christianity and Mahometanism, and to cause the latter to be the instructer and enlightener of mankind, while the former left them under the undisturbed or rather increased influence of all their native superstitions. — Edinburgh Review, Vol. V. p. 212.

† Sale's Koran, Chap. 24, Vol. II. p. 194. The right of redemption was recognized by the Gentoo Laws. — Halhed's Code, cap. 8, §§ 1, 2. It seems also to have belonged to the condition of slavery by the laws of most countries in which that condition has prevailed. It was unknown in the British West Indies while slavery still existed there. — Stephens on West India Slavery, Vol. II. pp. 378 - 384. It is also unknown in the Slave States of our country.

‡ Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 474, note.

and their descendants any indelible mark of exclusion from power and influence. It often happened that they arrived at eminent posts in the state. The seat of the Deys has more than once been filled by humble Christian captives, who have tugged for years at the oar.*

Nor do we feel, from the narratives of captives and of travellers, that the condition of the Christian slave was rigorous beyond the ordinary lot of slavery. "The Captive's Story" in Don Quixote does not impress the reader with any peculiar horror of the condition from which he had escaped. It is often said that the sufferings of Cervantes were among the most severe which even Algiers could inflict.† But they did not repress the gayety of his temper; and we learn that in the building where he was confined there was a chapel or oratory, in which mass was celebrated, the sacrament administered, and sermons regularly preached by captive priests.‡

At a later day we are furnished with a still more authentic picture. Captain Braithwaite, who accompanied the British minister to Morocco in 1727, in order to procure the liberation of the British captives, after describing their comfortable condition, adds: — "I am sure we saw several captives who lived much better in Barbary than ever they did in their own country. Whatever money in charity was sent them by their friends in Europe was their own, unless they defrauded one another, which has happened much oftener than by the Moors. Several of them are rich, and many have carried considerable sums out of the country, to the truth of which we are all witnesses. Several captives keep their mules, and some their servants; and yet this is called insupportable slavery among Turks and Moors. But we found this, as well as many other things in this country, strangely misrepresented."§

These statements — which, in the minds of those who do not

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* Haedo, *Historia de Argel*, p. 122; Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. pp. 169, 172; Shaler's Sketches of Algiers, p. 77; Short Account of Algiers, pp. 22, 25. It seems to have been intimated, that, according to the Koran, the condition of slavery ceased when the party became a Mussulman. — Penny Cyclopædia, Art. *Slavery;* Noah's Travels, p. 302; Shaler's Sketches, p. 69. It is doubtless true, that, in point of fact, freedom generally followed conversion; but I do not find any injunction on the subject in the Koran.

† *De los peores que en Argel auia.* Haedo, *Historia de Argel*, p. 185; Navarrete, *Vida de Cervantes*, p. 361.

‡ Roscoe's Life of Cervantes, p. 303.

§ Braithwaite's Revolutions in Morocco, p. 353.

place freedom above all price, may seem, at first view, to take the sting even from slavery — are not without support from other sources. Colonel Keatinge, who visited Morocco in 1785, as a member of a diplomatic mission from England, says of this evil there, that "it is very slightly inflicted, and as to any labor undergone, it does not deserve the name";* while Mr. Lemprière, who was in the same country not long afterwards, adds, — "To the disgrace of Europe, the Moors treat their slaves with humanity."† In Tripoli, we are told, by a person who was for ten years a resident, that the same gentleness prevailed. "It is a great alleviation to our feelings," says the writer, speaking of the slaves, "to see them easy and well-dressed, and, so far from wearing chains, as captives do in most other places, they are perfectly at liberty."‡ We have already seen the testimony of General Eaton with regard to slavery in Tunis; while Mr. Noah, one of his successors in the consulate of the United States at that place, has said, — "In Tunis, from my observation, the slaves are not severely treated; they are very useful, and many of them have made money."§ And Mr. Shaler has said, — "In short, there were slaves who left Algiers with regret."‖

A French writer of more recent date asserts, with some vehemence, and with the authority of an eyewitness, that the Christian slaves at Algiers were not exposed to the miseries which they represented. I do not know that he vindicates their slavery, but, like Captain Braithwaite, he evidently regards many of them as better off than they would be at home. According to him, they were well clad and well fed, *much better than the free Christians who were there*. The youngest and most comely were taken as pages by the Dey. Others were employed in the barracks; others in the galleys; but even here there was a chapel, as in the time of Cervantes, for the free exercise of the Christian religion. Those who happened to be artisans, as carpenters, locksmiths, and calkers, were let to the owners of vessels. Others were employed on the public works; while others still were allowed the privilege of keeping a

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* Keatinge's Travels, p. 250; Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 146. See also Chenier's Present State of Morocco, Vol. I. p. 192; II. p. 369.

† Lemprière's Tour, p. 290. See also pp. 3, 147, 190, 279.

‡ Narrative of Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli, p. 241.

§ Noah's Travels, p. 368.

‖ Shaler's Sketches, p. 77.

shop, in which their profits were sometimes so large as to enable them at the end of a year to purchase their ransom. But these were often known to become indifferent to freedom, and to prefer Algiers to their own country. The slaves of private persons were sometimes employed in the family of their master, where their treatment necessarily depended much upon his character. If he were gentle and humane, their lot was fortunate; they were regarded as children of the house. If he were harsh and selfish, then the iron of slavery did, indeed, enter their souls. Many were bought to be sold again for profit into distant parts of the country, where they were doomed to exhausting labor, in which event their condition is represented as grievous. But special care was bestowed upon those who became ill, which was done, it is said, not so much from humanity, as through fear of losing them.*

But, whatever deductions we may make from the current stories of White Slavery in the Barbary States, — admitting that it was mitigated by the genial influence of Mahometanism, — that the captives were well clad and well fed, much better than the free Christians who were there, — that they were allowed opportunities of Christian worship, — that they were often treated with lenity and affectionate care, — that they were sometimes advanced to posts of responsibility and honor, — and that they were known, in their contentment or stolidity, to become indifferent to freedom, — still the institution or custom is hardly less hateful in our eyes. "Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, Slavery! thou art a bitter draught! and though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, thou art no less bitter on that account." † Algerine Slavery was a violation of the law of nature and of God. It was a usurpation of rights not granted to man.

> "O execrable son, so to aspire
> Above his brethren, to himself assuming
> Authority usurped, from God not given!
> He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
> Dominion absolute; that right we hold
> By his donation; but man over men
> He made not lord, such title to himself
> Reserving, human left from human free." ‡

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* *Histoire d'Alger: Description de ce Royaume, etc., de ses Forces de Terre et de Mer, Mœurs et Costumes des Habitans, des Mores, des Arabes, des Juifs, des Chrétiens, de ses Lois, etc.* (Paris, 1830), Chap. 27.

† Sterne.

‡ Paradise Lost, Book XII. 64 - 71.

Such a relation, in defiance of God, could not fail to accumulate disastrous consequences upon all in any way parties to it; for injustice and wrong are fatal alike to the doer and the sufferer. It is notorious that — in Algiers — it exerted a most pernicious influence on master and slave. The slave was crushed and degraded by it, his intelligence abased, even his love of freedom extinguished. The master, accustomed from childhood to its revolting inequalities of condition, was exalted into a mood of unconscious arrogance and self-confidence, inconsistent with the virtues of a pure and upright character. Unlimited power is apt to stretch towards license; and the wives and daughters of Christian slaves were often pressed to be the concubines of their Algerine masters.*

It is well, then, that it has passed away! The Barbary States seem less barbarous, when we no longer discern this cruel oppression!

But the story of slavery there is not yet all told. While the Barbary States had received white slaves by sea, stolen by their corsairs, they also, from time immemorial, had imported black slaves from the south. Over the vast sea of sand, "illimitable and without bound," in which is absorbed their southern border, — traversed by camels, those "ships of the desert," — were brought these unfortunate beings, as merchandise, with gold-dust and ivory, doomed often to insufferable torments, while cruel thirst parched the lips, and tears vainly moistened the eyes. They also were ravished from their homes, and, like their white brethren from the north, compelled to taste of slavery. In numbers they have far surpassed their Christian peers. But for long years no pen or voice pleaded their cause; nor did the Christian nations — professing a religion which sends the precious sympathies of neighbourhood to the farthest pole of suffering, and teaches universal humanity, without respect of persons — ever interfere in any way in their behalf. The navy of Great Britain, by the throats of their artillery, argued the freedom of all their *fellow-Christians*, without distinction of *nation;* but they did not

* Noah's Travels, pp. 248, 253; Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 168. Among the concubines of a prince of Morocco were two slaves of the age of fifteen, one of English, and the other of French extraction. — Lemprière's Tour, p. 147. There is an account of the fate of "one Mrs. Shaw, an Irishwoman," in words hardly polite enough to be quoted. She was swept into the harem of Muley Ishmael, who "forced her to turn Moor"; "but soon after, having taken a dislike to her, he gave her to a soldier." — Braithwaite's Morocco, p. 191.

heed the slavery of others, — Mahometans or idolaters, children of the same Father in heaven. Lord Exmouth did but half his work. In confining the stipulation to the abolition of Christian slavery only, he made a discrimination, which, whether founded on religion or color, was selfish and unchristian. Here, again, we notice the same inconsistency which darkened the conduct of Charles the Fifth. Forgetful of the brotherhood of the race, Christian powers have regarded the slavery of blacks as just and proper, while the slavery of whites has been branded as unjust and sinful.

As the British fleet sailed proudly from the harbour of Algiers, bearing its emancipated white slaves, and the express stipulation, that Christian slavery was abolished for ever, it left in bondage behind large numbers of blacks, distributed throughout all the Barbary States. Neglected thus by exclusive Christendom, it is pleasant to know that their lot is not always unhappy. In Morocco there are negroes who are still detained as slaves; but the prejudice of color seems not to prevail there. They have been called "the grand cavaliers of this part of Barbary." * They often become the chief magistrates and rulers of cities.† They have constituted the body-guard of several of the emperors, and have, on one occasion at least, exercised the prerogative of the Prætorian cohorts, in dethroning their master.‡ So that, if negro slavery still exists in this state, it has little of that degradation which is connected with it elsewhere. Into Algiers France is supposed to have already carried the benign principle of law — earlier recognized by her than by the English courts § — which secures freedom to all beneath its influence. And now, within the present year, the glad tidings have been received, that the Bey of Tunis, "for the glory of God, and to dis-

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* Braithwaite's Morocco, p. 350. See also Quarterly Review, Vol. XV. p. 168.

† Braithwaite, p. 222.

‡ Ibid., p. 381.

§ Somersett's case, recognizing this principle, was decided in 1772. M. Schoell says that "this fine maxim has always obtained" in France. — *Histoire Abrégée des Traités de Paix*, Tom. XI. p. 178. By the royal ordinance of 1318, it was declared, that "all men are born free (*francs*) by nature; and that the kingdom of the French (*Francs*) should be so in reality as in name." See the Oration of Brissot de Warville, delivered in Paris, February 19th, 1778, on the necessity of establishing at Paris a society to coöperate with those of America and London towards the abolition of the trade and slavery of negroes. It is doubtful, however, whether this "fine maxim" was recognized in France so completely as M. Schoell asserts. See Encyclopédie (de Diderot et D'Alembert), Art. *Esclavage*.

tinguish man from the brute creation," has decreed the total abolition of human slavery throughout his dominions.*

Let us turn, then, with hope and confidence to the Barbary States! The virtues and charities do not come single. There is among them a common bond, stronger than that of science or knowledge. Let one find admission, and a troop will follow. Nor is it unreasonable to anticipate other improvements in states which have renounced a long-cherished system of White Slavery, while they have done much to abolish or mitigate the slavery of others not white, and to overcome the inhuman prejudice of color. The Christian nations of Europe first declared, and practically enforced, within their own European dominions, the vital truth of freedom, that man cannot hold property in his brother-man. Algiers and Tunis, like Saul of Tarsus, have been turned from the path of persecution, and now receive the same faith. Algiers and Tunis now help to plead the cause of freedom. Such a cause is in sacred fellowship with all those principles which promote the progress of man. And who can tell that this despised portion of the globe is not destined to yet another restoration? It was here in Northern Africa that civilization was first nursed, that commerce early spread her white wings, that Christianity was taught by the honeyed lips of Augustine. All these are again returning to their ancient home. Civilization, commerce, and Christianity once more shed their benignant influences upon the land to which they have long been strangers. A new health and vigor now animate its exertions. Like its own giant Antæus, — whose tomb is placed by tradition among the hill-sides of Algiers, — it has often been felled to the earth, but it now rises with renewed strength, to gain yet higher victories.

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* It is not known that it has been abolished yet in Tripoli.

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